

A CATALOGUE  
OF  
THE MUHAMMADAN COINS  
IN  
THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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A CATALOGUE  
OF THE  
ARAB-SASSANIAN  
COINS

(UMAIYAD GOVERNORS IN THE EAST,  
ARAB-EPHTHALITES, 'ABBĀSID GOVERNORS  
IN TABARISTĀN AND BUKHĀRĀ)

BY  
JOHN WALKER, M.A.  
ASSISTANT KEEPER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COINS

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*With 40 Plates*

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## PREFACE

THIS, the first, volume of a new Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum, contains the Arab coins of Sassanian type which were issued in the Eastern Provinces by the Caliphs and governors of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid dynasties. The coins of this class in the British Museum are here catalogued for the first time, and this is the first Museum Catalogue devoted entirely to this class of coins.

In view of their historical importance and the rarity of the individual specimens, a large number of coins from other cabinets, both public and private, many of them previously unpublished, have been included in the present Catalogue. For permission to describe, and in many cases illustrate, them my thanks are due to their respective curators or owners. (For details of these see the List of Abbreviations, pp. xiii f.) Much fresh material for the work was acquired during a visit which I was enabled to pay in 1937 to the Museums of Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. For this great opportunity I take this occasion to express my thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum.

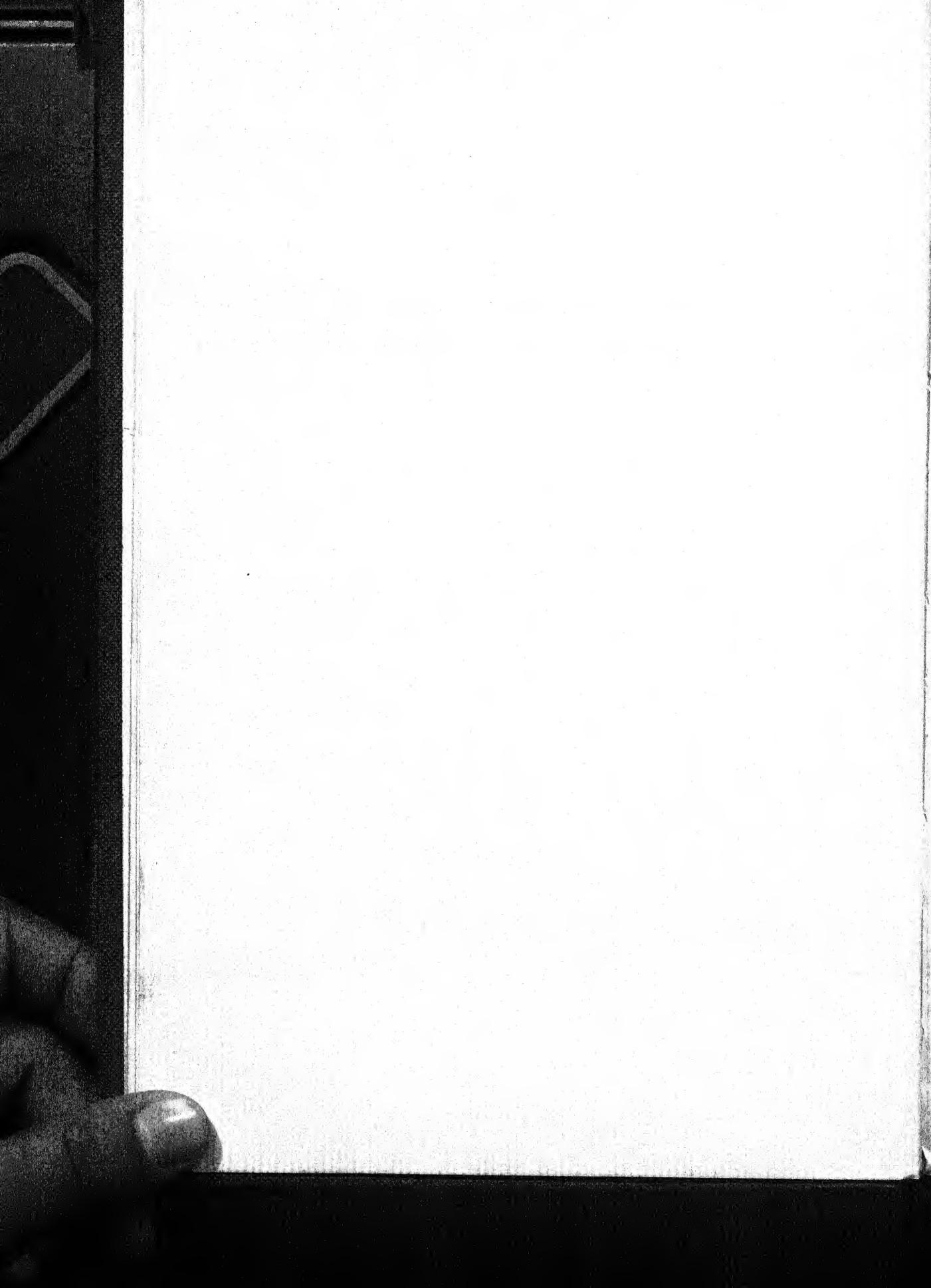
Special attention throughout has been paid to the epigraphy of the coin-legends, and a section of the Introduction (pp. clii ff.) has been devoted to this. The intricacies of the Pehlevi and Kufic scripts and consequent difficulties of elucidation can be judged from the tables printed there. The Table of Pehlevi mint-signatures (pp. cii ff.) should also prove useful in this connexion.

In the transliteration of the Arabic legends a system approximating to that of the Royal Asiatic Society has been deemed the most suitable. In the case of the Pehlevi legends a skeleton transliteration only has been employed. Names, on the other hand, which have become familiar to readers in an English guise, such as Mecca, Medina, Caliph, Sassanian, Pehlevi, &c., are retained as such. The Arabic definite article in the commoner proper names, such as al-Hajjāj or al-'Irāk or al-Baṣra, is frequently omitted.

Throughout the compilation of the work and the correction of the proofs I have been greatly helped by the advice and encouragement of Mr. John Allan, Keeper of Coins. I am also indebted to my colleague, Mr. Harold Mattingly, for his kindness in reading the proofs of the greater portion of the Introduction and in making helpful suggestions.

6 February, 1941

JOHN WALKER



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AF. Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe Collection, Versailles.
- ANS. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.
- Asc. G. I. Ascoli ('Dodici Monete con leggende pelviche del R. Museo di Napoli', in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, Florence, 1881, ii, pp. 65-73).
- B. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (H. Nützel, *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*, i, Berlin, 1898).
- B.S.O.S. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*.
- C. National Museum, Copenhagen (J. Østrup, *Catalogue des Monnaies arabes*, Copenhagen, 1938).
- Cam. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- D. A. W. Davis Collection, Baghdad (now dispersed).
- Dam. Arab Museum (Musée National Syrien), Damascus.
- DD. D. D. Dickson Collection, London.
- Do. B. Dorn (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, St. Petersburg, ii, 1856, and iii, 1859).
- ETN. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.
- Flag. Convent of the Flagellation (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum), Jerusalem.
- H. Prof. Ernst Herzfeld Collection (now dispersed).
- I. Istanbul Museum (Catalogue of I. Ghalib Edhem, مسکوكات قديمة اسلاميه قتالوغى, Constantinople, 1894, and unpublished recent acquisitions).
- J. Jena University Collection (J. G. Stickel, *Handbuch zur Morgenländischen Münzkunde*, Leipzig, ii, 1870).
- J.A. *Journal Asiatique*.
- J.R.A.S. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- K. Prof. J. Karabacek Collection (described in *Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte*, 1865).
- M. A. D. Mordtmann (published articles, chiefly in *Z.D.M.G.*).
- Mar. A. de Markoff (*Catalogue des Monnaies arsacides*, &c., St. Petersburg, 1889).
- Mart. Major M. F. C. Martin Collection, London.
- N. Königsberg University Collection (G. H. F. Nesselmann, *Die orientalischen Münzen des akademischen Münzcabinets in Königsberg*, Leipzig, 1858).

- Nej. Nejelow Collection, Kazan (C. M. Fraehn, *Novae Symbolae ad rem numariam Muhammedanorum*, St. Petersburg, 1819).
- Num. Chron.* *Numismatic Chronicle*.
- Num. Circ.* *Spink's Numismatic Circular*.
- Num. Zeit.* *Numismatische Zeitschrift*.
- O. Bay Osman Arıdağ Collection, Istanbul.
- Ox. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- P. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes*, i, Paris, 1887).
- RB. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.
- Rev. Num.* *Revue Numismatique*.
- Rev. Num. Belge.* *Revue Belge de Numismatique*.
- Sch. J. Schulman, Amsterdam (Sale Catalogues).
- SHM. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm. (See note on p. 184.)
- S.K.B.A.* *Sitzungsberichte der k. B. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu München (phil.-hist. Cl.)*.
- So. F. J. Soret ('Lettre à M. Justus Olshausen', in *Mémoires et Documents de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, 1847; 'Lettre à M. Dorn', in *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1856).
- STA. Convent of St. Anne, Jerusalem.
- T. E. Thomas (published articles, chiefly in *J.R.A.S.*).
- Th. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.
- Ties. W. Tiesenhausen (*Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*, St. Petersburg, 1873; *Notice sur une collection de monnaies orientales de M. le Comte S. Stroganoff*, St. Petersburg, 1880; also articles in *Zapiski*, iv, 1889, and vi, 1891).
- To. C. J. Tornberg (*Symbolae ad rem numariam Muhammedanorum ex Museo regio Holmiensi*, iii, Upsala, 1856).
- U. J. M. Unvala (*Numismatique du Tabaristān*, Paris, 1938).
- V. W. H. Valentine (*Sassanian Coins*, London, 1921).
- Z. Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester.
- Zam. Oberst E. von Zambaur (*Kollektion Ernst Prinz zu Windisch-Grätz*, vii, Vienna, 1906).
- Zapiski.* *Zapiski Vostochnovo Otdeleniya Russkovo Imp. Arch. Obshchestva*.
- Z.D.M.G.* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
- Zub. Paul Zubow Collection, now in the Historical Museum, Moscow.

## INTRODUCTION

### I. GENERAL ARRANGEMENT AND SCOPE

THE term Arab-Sassanian is used throughout this Catalogue as a convenient description for all those Muhammadan coins with Arabic and/or Pehlevi legends, which were struck after the Sassanian fashion with conventional portrait on the obverse and on the reverse usually a Zoroastrian fire-altar and two attendants. Such were the coins issued by the Arabs who assumed the government of the Sassanian provinces after the overthrow of that great monarchy. For close on two hundred years this national coin type persisted in the Eastern Provinces of the Caliphate until in a very debased form of its original character it found its final expression in the native currency of Bukhārā under the 'Abbāsids.

The coins of this Arab-Sassanian type—which are for the most part silver, a small minority being copper, and none of them gold<sup>1</sup>—have been grouped as follows:

- (I) *The Umayyad Governors in the East and some of their Predecessors*  
(c. A.H. 31–83 = A.D. 651–702).
- (II) *The Arab-Ephthalite Coins (of Khurāsān)*  
(c. A.H. 50–69 = A.D. 670–688).
- (III) *The 'Abbāsid Governors in Tabaristān*  
(c. A.H. 144–197 = A.D. 761–812).
- (IV) *'Abbāsid Coins of Bukhārā*  
(c. A.H. 158–200 = A.D. 775–815).
- (V) *Isolated Coins of Arab-Sassanian Type*  
(Umayyad and Early 'Abbāsid Period).

Apart from II, which is properly speaking a special sub-division of I; and V, which is a special supplementary division, the grouping is chronological. Group I—with one or two early exceptions—and Group II fall within the Umayyad period, although some of the governors who issued them were antagonistic to the Umayyad rule; while Groups III and IV belong to the early 'Abbāsid Caliphate, the former continuing

<sup>1</sup> A number of forgeries in gold but from silver types are known. They have deceived even expert numismatists. See below, pp. 161, 191, 193.

the style of coinage struck by the native Zoroastrian princes, or *Ispahbads*, of Tabaristān, the latter that of the *Bukhār-Khudās*, or Lords of Bukhārā. In the last group (V) isolated specimens that cannot conveniently be included in any of the preceding groups are collected. The dating of some of these latter coins is problematical, but none is later than the early 'Abbāsid period. All of the above coins, however, without exception, derive from the coinage tradition of the Sassanian monarchy in Irān. Here as in other parts of the new Islamic dominions the continuity of already existing coin types was uninterrupted and maintained for a time by the conquering Arabs, in deference to well-established national preferences. Of the above groups that of the Umayyad governors in the East and some of their predecessors is by far the most important. The others, although historically and numismatically interesting, particularly Group III, are none the less more local and short-lived.

The British Museum coins of the foregoing groups have never before been systematically catalogued. For some reason they were not included by Lane Poole in his *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, although according to a statement in his Introduction (vol. i, p. vii) it was his intention to do so in a forthcoming volume. Even in the case of other important Catalogues of Oriental Coins, such as those by Fraehn, Tiesenhausen, Stickel, Lavoix, Nützel, and Ghalib Edhem, only a small portion of space is allotted in each to the Arab-Sassanian series, and none covers all the above groups in their entirety. Besides, apart from Museum Catalogues, important articles on collections of these coins, private and otherwise, have been contributed to scientific periodicals by several oriental scholars of the last century. In this connexion special mention should be made of Olshausen, Mordtmann, and Thomas. All these published examples as well as subsequent unpublished new data have never until the present attempt been assembled and critically considered. Unfortunately, many of the coins mentioned by previous writers on the subject have not been, or at least have been inadequately, illustrated. Naturally the interpretation of their legends and types is frequently open to suspicion. Numerous instances of dubiety or misinterpretation on the part of their editors will be found indicated in the notes throughout the present Catalogue. Hence it has been considered advisable to illustrate as liberally as possible, more especially those obverses and reverses whose legends might be called in question, as well as those that are in any way remarkable. Moreover, in order to make this Catalogue as near to a *corpus* as possible, many examples from other

collections, published or otherwise, are cited and in many instances also included in the plates. In the case of rare coins previously described, but not properly illustrated, the whereabouts of which to-day can no longer be traced for purposes of verification, a statement to this effect is inserted as a *caveat*.

The author is quite aware that the arrangement of the coins in the plates, and especially their system of enumeration, is not by any means the most scientific one, and may occasionally hinder convenient reference to the text. Unavoidable circumstances, however, attending the preparation of this Catalogue for the printer, rendered this inevitable. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the inclusion of a Concordance of Plate and Page References at the end (pp. 243 f.) will make amends for this.

In order to demonstrate the continuity of coin-types from the Sassanian into the Muhamadan period prototype coins have been added and briefly described when essential, as in the case of Groups I, III, and IV which derive from collateral branches of the common Sassanian stock. As this individual type is slavishly perpetuated on both obverse and reverse, almost without exception, throughout each group, only the omission or inclusion or divergency of details is noted after the standard form has been described at the outset. The phrases, 'usual Sassanian bust' for the obverse, and 'usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants' for the reverse, are sufficient to indicate the prevailing type in each particular group. Only those variations in design or legend are indicated which have been observed by the present writer on the coins themselves or derived from a study of casts and photographs, or deduced from the published statements of others.

In accordance with Museum practice the particulars, where known, of acquisition are given at the foot of the page, and additional references (which are collected at the end of the Catalogue, pp. 175 ff.) are made to other previous publications of the coins in question, if any, as well as any supplementary information or discussion that has been considered of sufficient relevance. References are also made to any earlier publication of coins of similar type and date and particularly to specimens in other museums, or accessible collections, which have been illustrated. In the case of rare coins, in particular, all possible examples known to the writer from his own observation, or reported to him on the authority of others, are cited. Many of these coins not in the National Collection have been embodied in the present Catalogue in their proper sequence outside the running catalogue number. For convenience of

reference these coins are indicated by an abbreviation and a number.  
(See List of Abbreviations, pp. xiii f.)

In Group I the coins are subdivided as follows :

A. Those which have the name of the Sassanian king: i.e. either Yezdigird III; or, most commonly, Khusrau II; or, rarest of all, Hormuzd IV.

B. Those with the bust of the Sassanian king, but without any name.

C. Those with the name of the Umayyad Caliph: i.e. either Mu'awiya or 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān—the names of the other intermediate Caliphs do not occur on any specimen so far known.

D. Those with the name of a provincial governor. This sub-division, which is more or less chronologically arranged, is headed by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, who for a time was a rival Caliph in Arabia and in the Eastern Provinces, and also contains the celebrated Khārijite anti-Caliph Kātārī ibn al-Fujā'a. At the end are placed a few uncertain governors whom the present writer has not succeeded in fitting into the historical background with any assurance.

E. Those without any name which are dated within the period of the preceding sub-division.

F. Barbarous imitations of coins of this group, which, judging from the marginal legend on one of them, were perhaps struck in Sistān. It is impossible to attribute them to the Umayyad period with certainty as their dates are bungled or illegible.

In the case of A the coins are first of all arranged according to years, and then according to mints; whereas in the case of subdivisions C and D they are arranged first according to mints and then according to years. In the case of B, E, and F, the paucity of material renders any further subdivision unnecessary. It should be borne in mind that the mint-grouping is largely arbitrary because of the uncertainty that exists regarding the interpretation of many of the mint-signatures. The table on pp. cii–cv and the Index of Mints on pp. 223 ff., however, should provide an exact guide to and summary of this material.

Group II, which is small in scope, is of some rarity. These coins have been designated by the present cataloguer as *Arab-Ephthalite* for reasons which will be more apparent when their legends and chronology are considered below. So far as possible they are arranged under mints and attributed conjecturally to two governors. This is a quite new interpretation and every indulgence is asked of the reader in any criticism of the proposed hypotheses. As can be seen from the foot-notes the majority of specimens so far known of this group are in the National

Collection ; one hitherto unpublished and unique specimen is in the American Numismatic Society Collection, New York (ANS. 17, p. 127).

Group III has been subdivided as follows :

A. Posthumous coins with the name of the last native *Ispahbad* of Tabaristān, Khurshīd, probably struck by the 'Abbāsid governors.

B. Coins with the name of the 'Abbāsid governor, written in Pehlevi or Arabic, or in rare instances in both languages.

C. Coins with the Pehlevi word AFZUT written in place of the usual name-legend. A few examples of this type have, however, a governor's name in Arabic added in the margin. This section also includes at the end what to the present writer appear to be very questionable examples in gold and copper.

The coins in all cases are of the mint of Tabaristān (Pehlevi TPURSTAN) and they have all been arranged, in their various sections, chronologically. It will be seen that there is thus a certain amount of overlapping in the case of some governors. That point will be commented on when we come to deal with the chronology of the coins, and can be readily seen from the table on pp. lxxiv f.

Group IV, after the evolution of the coinage from the Sassanian prototype of Bahrām V has been traced through the intermediate Bukhārān imitations, is subdivided into : A. Coins with bilingual legends ; and B. Coins with Arabic legends only.

As none of the coins of this group has either mint or date expressed, their allocation territorially and chronologically must be deduced from internal evidence aided by fragmentary statements in the annalists. For this discussion reference should be made to the section below dealing with the matter (pp. lxxx ff.).

The last group (V) is a kind of 'omnium gatherum', which contains coins which are partially akin to coins in the foregoing groups, but which just escape by reason of some defect or peculiarity from being eligible for admission to one or other of them. For example, there is the coin of Tabaristān type (I. 58, p. 174) which cannot be placed in Group III for the simple reason that it was struck at the mint of Raiy. Others again, while they have a traditional Sassanian bust on the obverse, are without the usual reverse with fire-altar and two attendants, and instead have a legend either wholly in Pehlevi or in a mixture of both Arabic and Pehlevi. These are stray pieces which, in our present state of limited information, can only be grouped together promiscuously. The group has been sub-divided into : A. Uncertain (Umayyad or early 'Abbāsid) Period ; and B. 'Abbāsid Period.

In this Catalogue only those coins are included which bear definite signs that they were issued under Arab control, such as either legends in Arabic or names of Arab governors either written in Pehlevi or in Arabic or in the so-called Ephthalite script. An apparent exception to this rule of limitation occurs in Group III, sub-division A, which contains certain coins bearing the name of Khurshid and dated after the time of his death as reported by the native historians. These posthumous coins, for historic and numismatic reasons to be mentioned later, have been regarded as almost certainly products of the minting operations ordered by one or other of the early 'Abbāsid governors of the Tabaristān Province before they began to substitute their own names on the coins for that of the defeated *Ispahbad*. Strictly speaking, another exception to the above rule is that of the ARZUT coins (Group III C) in this same series. Although they, with rare exceptions, never bear any trace of Arabic script, they were struck by 'Abbāsid governors as is clear from their dating and other internal evidence.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, amongst the Sassanian coins of Khusrau II there is a well-known group with the Pehlevi word AFD on the obverse margin. These coins, in contrast to the early coins of this monarch, are usually well produced and very like certain Arab-Sassanian coins in fabric and workmanship. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that some of these might have been issued under the Arabs in the Īrānian provinces, but as there is no definite evidence to substantiate this, such coins are not included in this Catalogue.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The assertion by Unvala (*Numismatique du Tabaristān*, p. 13) that these so-called 'anonymous coins' were struck by the Zoroastrians who revolted against the Arabs is in my opinion untenable. See below, p. lxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> De Morgan (in Babelon's *Traité*, iii, tome i, p. 548) has dogmatically attributed them to the Arab governors at the time of the conquest. Besides these there are certain odd specimens with the Pehlevi marginal legend AFD abbreviated to AF (اف). This last has frequently been misinterpreted as the Arabic اللٰه *Allāh*, and the coins in consequence have been classed as Muhammadan. Instances of this mistaken attribution, wherever they are detected, are cited throughout the Catalogue notes. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 283) was particularly unfortunate in this respect; he read the Pehlevi AFD as representing the Arabic 'ABD (عبد).

## II. HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY

### GENERAL SURVEY

The 16th July, A.D. 622, is a cardinal date in Islamic chronology. That day is reckoned by Muhammadans as the first of the sacred month of Muharram, which opened the Year of the Flight (or *Hijra*). The event commemorated was the migration (*hijra*) of Muhammad and his adherents from Mecca to Yathrib. The latter place was afterwards to be known as Medina, 'the City', or in full 'the City of the Prophet' (*Madinat-al-Nabī*). During the next ten years this city was Muhammad's base. The politico-religious propaganda of the new religion of Islam emanated thence and impinged on the encircling tribes and the more settled and civilized nations beyond Arabia. An old tradition, now discredited, tells of embassies being dispatched by the Prophet in A.H. 6 (A.D. 628) to the neighbouring Ghassānid and Lakhmid princes and, still more ambitiously, to the rulers of Byzantium, Persia, Egypt, and Abyssinia. It was a bold move, which, if the story is not, as is most probable, historical prolepsis, might have been justified by what subsequently happened—the rapid development of Islamic power following the death of Muhammad in A.H. 11 (A.D. 632), under his energetic successors. The Prophet's father-in-law, Abu Bekr (*Abū Bakr*), was the first Caliph (*Khalīfa*), i.e. 'successor' or 'representative' of the lately deceased Apostle of Allah (*rasūl Allāh*). During his brief but resolute leadership of the nascent Islamic community (A.H. 11–13) the fanatic tribesmen were thrusting their way through the buffer-states on the Arabian frontiers into the rich empires beyond. But it was under the next Caliph Omar ('*Umar ibn al-Khattāb*) that the spectacular victories of the early Arab territorial expansion were won. Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Persia—in all these countries the sword of Islam prevailed. The years, as they pass, record a succession of brilliant and shattering victories almost unparalleled in the annals of history.

In this Catalogue we are concerned only with the eastern advance through Mesopotamia (the modern 'Irāk) and Persia (the modern Irān) and to some extent Transoxiana, i.e. the territories beyond the river Oxus.<sup>1</sup>

Geographically this area roughly coincided with the vast empire of the Sassanian dynasty that had ruled there for fully four centuries.

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic designation of this region was *Mā warā' al-nahr* (ما وراء النهر), literally, 'What is behind the river'.

The prestige of the royal house of Sāsān in the East was the counterpart of that of the imperial family of Byzantium in the West. Both received the rude shock of the sudden onslaught from the desert Arabs; but whereas the latter only lost part of its territory (principally Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa) the former was completely and utterly submerged by the deluge of invasion. The death blows to Sassanian supremacy were dealt at the battles of Kādisīya (A.D. 636) and Nihāvand (A.D. 642). The last Sassanian monarch, Yezdigird III, was forced bit by bit to retreat into the outlying provinces of what remained of his once vast domain. In A.D. 651 (A.H. 31) he was assassinated near Merv in the province of Khurāsān and his dynasty was virtually terminated. Province after province came under the sway of the fast-encroaching power of the Caliphs.

When Yezdigird III died, Othman ('Uthmān ibn 'Affān) was Caliph, the third in succession after the Prophet. It is with him that the house of Umayya attained the Caliphate, though it was Mu'āwiya (q.v.), who was actually the first Caliph of what is known as the Umayyad dynasty. The struggle for the control of the Islamic theocracy at that time was one of bitter discord and intertribal jealousy. 'Alī, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law—he had married Muhammad's daughter Fātīma, an event which was to have lasting historical significance—had each time failed to be elected as Caliph much to the chagrin of himself and his partisans. The favouritism, therefore, which the Caliph Othman manifested towards the members of his own house of Umayya, naturally kindled the flames of revolt, and for long afterwards the 'Alid supporters were destined to upset the equilibrium of the ruling power, whether Umayyad, or, afterwards, 'Abbāsid.

The assassination of Othman in A.H. 35 (A.D. 656) released the pent-up waters of civil disorder and set the whole Islamic world in a turmoil. 'Alī had homage paid to himself as the new Caliph in the mosque at Medina. But two of the prominent old 'Companions' of the Prophet, Talḥa and Zubair, together with the Prophet's favourite wife 'Ā'iša, opposed him and made the new city of Baṣra their head-quarters. 'Alī found support for his cause in the rival city of Kūfa, and at the Battle of the Camel (A.H. 36) he succeeded in crushing the revolt. The two garrison cities, and with them the whole of the province of Irāk, were his (A.H. 35–40). The centre of gravity of the Caliphate, incidentally, had for the first time passed outside the holy territory of Arabia.

Syria, however, was still unsubdued. For some twenty years this important province, with its heritage of Byzantine culture, had been

very ably governed by Mu'āwiya—a cousin of the recently murdered Caliph—who, backed by his well-disciplined standing army, refused to regard 'Ali as legitimately elected. He succeeded in securing a settlement by arbitration.

Mu'āwiya triumphed, but it was not until A.H. 41—after the assassination of 'Ali (A.H. 40) and the deposition of his eldest son Hasan (A.H. 41)—that Mu'āwiya as first Caliph of the Umayyad dynasty established his capital at Damascus. This continued to be the centre of the Caliphate—much to the displeasure of the citizens of Kūfa—until the Umayyads were ousted by their political rivals the 'Abbāsids, about ninety years later.

It was during this famous arbitration crisis that there emerged from the midst of the contending factions a party of fanatics called Khārijites, i.e. separatists (Khawārij). These sectarians were destined to give endless trouble throughout the subsequent history of the Caliphate. Their clarion call was 'There is no judgement (or arbitration) except Allah's' (*la hukma illā lillāh*), a slogan which occurs, as we shall see, on coins issued by one of their celebrated leaders, al-Kaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a (see p. 112).

The Shī'a (or Party) of 'Ali became even more antagonistic to the newly established dynasty than were the Khārijites. They never forgave the Umayyads for the disastrous massacre at Kerbela in A.H. 61 (A.D. 650) of 'Ali's son Husain and his handful of followers by the soldiers of the Umayyad governor 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād (q.v.). They had their revenge some years later when they temporarily joined forces with the 'Abbāsids and helped to extinguish the Umayyad dynasty in the East (in A.H. 132).

In contradistinction to the 'Alid Party (Shī'at-'Ali) the orthodox (or Sunnī) Muhammadans maintained that the first three Caliphs of Islam were the following:

Abu Bekr (*Abū Bakr*), A.H. 11–13 (A.D. 632–634).

Omar ('*Umar*), A.H. 13–23 (A.D. 634–644).

Othman ('*Uthmān*), A.H. 23–35 (A.D. 644–656).

These are known by the Sunnīs as the 'Orthodox Caliphs' (*al-Khulafā al-Rāshidūn*). The Shī'a naturally disputed this and regarded 'Ali as the rightful Caliph. As we have seen, his brief spell of office (A.H. 35–40) was far from achieving the universal acclamation of the Islamic community. On his assassination his eldest son Hasan—a weakling—claimed the Caliphate, only to be forced in the following year into retirement, and an ignominious death by poisoning, by a stronger claimant, Mu'āwiya. Thereafter, for well-nigh a century, the widespread Islamic dominions

were under the control of the Umayyad Caliphs whose reigns were as follows:

### UMAIYAD CALIPHES

(capital, Damascus)

A.H. 41–132 = A.D. 661–750

(a) *Elder Branch: Sufyānids*

		A.H.	A.D.
Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān . . . .		41–60	661–680
Yazid ibn Mu'āwiya . . . .		60–64	680–683
Mu'āwiya (II) ibn Yazid . . . .		64	683–684

(b) *Younger Branch: Marwānids*

		A.H.	A.D.
Marwān ibn al-Hakam . . . .		64–65	684–685
'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān . . . .		65–86	685–705
al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik . . . .		86–96	705–715
Sulaimān ibn 'Abd al-Malik . . . .		96–99	715–717
'Umar (II) ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwān		99–101	717–720
Yazid (II) ibn 'Abd al-Malik . . . .		101–105	720–724
Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik . . . .		105–125	724–743
al-Walid (II) ibn Yazid (II) . . . .		125–126	743–744
Yazid (III) ibn al-Walid (I) . . . .		126	744
Ibrāhim ibn al-Walid (I) . . . .		126–127	744
Marwān (II) ibn Muhammad ibn Marwān (I)		127–132	744–750

Under the Umayyad Caliphs the Eastern Provinces—in which section of the Islamic world the coins of this volume of the Catalogue were minted—were partitioned between the governors of the two great garrison cities of 'Irāk: Basra, where there was a large Khārijite element, and Kūfa, which was a centre for Shī'a propaganda. Sometimes, indeed, these two areas were placed by the Caliph under the control of a single governor-general, as in the case of Ziyād (q.v.), or of the latter's son 'Ubaidallāh (q.v.) and, more especially, of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.). When this happened, this important official would usually reside alternately in each of the two cities above mentioned. Ḥajjāj, however, in order to keep an eye on the two rival centres of unrest and insubordination, founded (in A.H. 84) the half-way city of al-Wāsiṭ ('the Middle One') as a fixed camp for his Syrian troops. But, normally, the governor of Kūfa, higher up the Tigro-Euphrates valley, commissioned the sub-lieutenants of the provinces of Adharbajān, Arrān, Tabaristān, Jibāl, &c. In a like manner the governor of Baṣra, in the lower reaches of the valley, had his head-quarters in that city and dispatched his deputies

or sub-governors to the various provinces, such as Fārs, Kirmān, Sistān, Makrān, Kūhistān, Khurāsān, and to the disputed Indian frontier lands. (See map, p. cxliii.)

When Yazīd succeeded Mu'āwiya (in A.H. 60) the old quarrel over the Caliphate burst forth anew. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair (q.v.) and Husain ibn 'Ali rose in rebellion. The latter, relying on help from the Shi'i citizens of Kūfa, was doomed to disappointment, and 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād (q.v.), the Umayyad governor of the city at that time, was instrumental in crushing him with great slaughter on the calamitous field of Kerbela, an event ever afterwards to be remembered by the 'Alids. On the other hand 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair for several years (A.H. 61–73) maintained himself as a rival Caliph in Arabia, in the Eastern Provinces, and in part of Syria. Some of his coins bear his assumed title of 'Commander of the Faithful' written in Pehlevi (pp. 33–6). We have also coins of his brother Mu'sab (q.v.), who was his governor in Baṣra and also in Kūfa. The career of 'Abdallāh was brought to a tragic close by the formidable Umayyad warrior Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.), who, under the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (q.v.), rose to be the viceroy of the whole of the Eastern Provinces. It was about this time that the important coinage reform, to which we shall return later, took place. New gold and silver coins with Arabic legends only and generally without any effigies or symbols were introduced from about A.H. 75 onwards.<sup>1</sup> The latest date on coins of Arab-Sassanian type issued by the Umayyads is A.H. 83 (see p. 120). These bear the name of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf who played an important part in the coinage reform. Sporadically, however, the type survived, as we shall see, in Tabaristān and Bukhārā into the early 'Abbāsid period.

In A.H. 132 the Umayyads in the East were driven from the Caliphate by their enemies of the house of 'Abbās, aided for the time being by the 'Alid partisans and the heterogeneous Khārijites. The Syrian domination was thus over. Damascus ceased to be the capital. Once again Kūfa was the centre of the Caliphate, although it was not long before it had to give way before the new 'Abbāsid capital of Baghdad (*Madinat-al-Salām*). Meanwhile the governors of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs in Tabaristān, conforming to the local practices of the native rulers whom they finally displaced, issued coins in the Sassanian style with legends in Pehlevi and Arabic. Somewhat later the coins of Bukhārā, also of

<sup>1</sup> These Reformed Currency coins will be dealt with in a subsequent volume of this British Museum Catalogue. Some of those in the British Museum Collection have already been published by Lane Poole in his Catalogue.

a derived Sassanian type, came to be struck in that region with the names in Arabic of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs and governors of the time, together, sometimes, with legends in a form of script derived from Aramaic. The latest of these Arab-Sassanian coin survivals may be dated somewhere during the reigns of the immediate successors of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (A.H. 170–193 = A.D. 786–809), the celebrated contemporary in the Moslem East of the great Charlemagne in the Christian West.

### *I. The Umayyad Governors in the East and some of their Predecessors*

When the armies of Islam invaded Irān the ruler of that country was Yezdigird III (A.D. 632–651), destined to be the last Sassanian monarch. Driven from one province to another of his doomed empire, he was ignominiously murdered at Merv in A.H. 31. He had thus ruled for practically twenty years, and the dates on his own Sassanian coinage range from 1 to 20. It is this last date (20) that appears on the imitative issues of the Arab governors who ousted him from his dominions. The question whether this date on the Muhammadan coins represents a date in the Yezdigird era, or in the new era of the Hijra, is considered later (p. xxxv). Yezdigird III was the grandson of Khusrau II (A.D. 590–628), whose coinage was so plentiful and well received in the Irānian provinces that it was taken as the standard type by the invaders. Khusrau's own Sassanian coins range between the years 1 to 39. The new Arab-Sassanian coins—still bearing his name—have dates from 21 to 50, while a few isolated and erratic cases of the survival of the name of Khusrau on Muhammadan issues are also known, but all of a much later date (Catalogue, pp. 23, 125–6).

But contemporaneous with some of these are the coins on which the name of Khusrau has been displaced by that of an Umayyad Caliph or governor or rebel leader. These were struck between the years A.H. 41 and 83, i.e. from the beginning of the reign of the Caliph Mu'āwiya until almost the end of that of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. In this short but eventful period we have some thirty-five Arab governors commemorated in the coinage of this particular type. The subjoined chronological summary of the more outstanding personalities and happenings that attended the rapid expansion of Islam in 'Irāk and in the Irānian provinces serves as an historical setting for the coins of this group and also gives some idea of the relative positions occupied by

the two great military colonies at Kūfa and Basra and their respective zones of administration. Many of the governors and sub-governors whose names figure on these coins will be seen to play an important part, especially in the establishment of the Umayyad rule in these territories. The Biographical Sketches appended to this section will provide fuller details regarding their individual political and mint activities.

Considering that the numismatic records of the governors of this period are so rich, it is a matter for some surprise and regret that there are no coins extant of some of the more outstanding amongst them, such as Mughīra ibn Shu'ba, Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, al-Mukhtār, &c. Future finds, however, may bring them to light. After all it is only within the last ten years that coins with the names of Bishr ibn Marwān, 'Ubadīllāh ibn Abī Bakra, Talḥa ibn 'Abdallāh, 'Atīya ibn al-Aswad, and Mughīra ibn al-Muhallab have been discovered or identified for the first time. And there are still several examples amongst the coins of uncertain governors awaiting elucidation. (See pp. 121-4.)

One of the problems arising from a study of these coins is their chronology. It is obvious from a collation of the coin dates with the historical information provided for us by the Arab chroniclers that at least three eras were employed by the moneyers, namely the Hijra reckoning (A.H.), the Yezdigird era (Y.E.), and what I have termed the Post-Yezdigird era (P.-Y.E.). The first is the normal Muhammadan system of dating from the Prophet's Flight (*Hijra*) to Medina in A.D. 622. The other two are peculiar to the Eastern Provinces. They are a heritage from the Sassanian empire in which no fixed era was employed in common by all the successive rulers of that dynasty. Instead, a new system of dating started with the accession of each new monarch in turn. The Yezdigird era began in the year when Yezdigird III ascended the throne of his forefathers (A.D. 632). As he was the last Sassanian ruler, local sentiment favoured its continuance after his death.<sup>1</sup> But a more natural system of dating that would appeal to Irānian patriotism was the use of a new era reckoned from the year following the death of Yezdigird III in A.D. 651. This third era, which is the regular one employed on the 'Abbāsid coins of Tabaristān has for that reason usually been called the Tabaristān era. There is evidence, however, of its use outside that province,<sup>2</sup> as in the case of some of

<sup>1</sup> 'It is still used by the Zoroastrian community in Iran and by their Parsi co-religionists in India' (Taqizadeh, *B.S.O.S.*, 1938, p. 917).

<sup>2</sup> 'This era was once in general use in most parts of Persia and more especially in Tabaristān, Gilān, Qum, and perhaps some of the central provinces of Persia, as well as with the Zoroastrians of Khorāsan and Transoxiana' (Taqizadeh, *op. cit.*, p. 918). It is

the coins in this Catalogue, and so a more apt name for it is the Post-Yezdigird era. Both of the Irānian eras are solar, whereas the Muhammadan one is lunar. A table covering the dates which concern us in this Catalogue will be found on pp. 237 f.

It is not always easy to be certain which particular era is involved in the dates of some of the Umayyad coins. All three eras are actually used in the case of some governors, though apparently not all at the same mint. The chronological details are included in the Biographical Sketches and the Mint Notes (q.v.).

In compiling the following historical summary of this particular period I have found the late Prince Caetani's *Chronographia Islamica* invaluable. In the columns marked Kūfa and Baṣra there have been indicated the main historical details of conquest, governorships, &c., appertaining to their respective zones. Attention is drawn to the map on p. cxlii, which will be helpful in following the progress of events. In some cases the dates transmitted to us by the Arabic annalists are at variance with one another. The importance of the coins lies in their providing us with contemporary data for corroborating, supplementing, or at times correcting the historians. Even so there are numerous cases where the coin evidence cannot be reconciled with the historical tradition. These are commented on in the Biographical Sketches where they occur.

#### *Historical Summary (A.H. 16–83)*

A.H.	KŪFA	BAṢRA
16		<i>Baṣra founded.</i> Governor: Mughira ibn Shu'ba.
17	<i>Kūfa founded.</i> Governor: Sa'd ibn Abī Waḳḳāṣ.	Mughira deposed; Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī appointed. Military expedition to Khūzistān. Manādhir, Nahr-Tirā, Sūk al-Ahwāz, and al-Sūs reported taken.
20	Sa'd deposed; 'Ammār ibn Yāsir appointed.	

called *Ta'rikh al-Majūs*, i.e. the era of the Magians, or Zoroastrians, and, according to Taqizadeh (p. 922), continued to be employed by the Zoroastrian community as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. Taqizadeh's conclusion (*ibid.*) is 'that the real name of the era was Pārsik, that it was expressed by the words "20 years after Yazdegerd" written after the Magian date, which meant that the beginning of the era was twenty years after the era of Yazdegerd, and that the latter became the exclusive means of dating, with the Zoroastrians, only in the last few centuries, and at any rate after the sixteenth century.'

A.H.	KŪFA	BAŞRA
21	'Ammār deposed; Mughīra appointed. <i>Battle of Nihāvand.</i> Arab victory. al-Raiy taken.	Rāmhurmuz, Tustar, Jundaisābūr, al-Sūs, &c., reported captured.
22	Ardabil taken. Expedition to al-Bāb.	Conquest of Khūzistān.
23	The governor of Kūfa captures al-Raiy and Hamādhān.	The governor of Başra begins the conquest of Fārs. Sābūr (Bishāpūr), Arrajān, &c., taken.
24	Mughīra deposed; Sa'īd ibn Abī Wakīṣ̄ appointed.	Māh al-Başra and Ispahān taken.
26	Sa'īd deposed and al-Walīd ibn 'Ukba appointed. Invasion of Adharbajān, which was in revolt.	Sābūr and İstakhr taken (again).
27		Peace made with Arrajān and Dārābjird.
28	Adharbajān subdued.	
29		Abū Mūsā deposed; 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir appointed. Reconquest of Fārs. İstakhr, Dārābjird, and Ispahān recaptured.
30	al-Walīd deposed; Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ appointed. Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ conquers Tabaristān.	'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir continues subjugation of Fārs. Kirmān occupied. Expedition to Khurāsān and Kūhistān. Defeat of Ephthalites. Herāt and Abrashahr taken. Conquest of Sistān and Makrān.
32	Another expedition to Adharbajān.	Merv al-Rūdh taken. Treaty with people of Balkh. The new province of Khurāsān is put in charge of Kais ibn al-Haitham.
33	Revolt in Kūfa against the Caliph Othman. Movement in favour of 'Ali.	Rebellion in Khurāsān suppressed by 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, who is made governor of the province. The revolt against the Caliph Othman spreads to Başra.

- 34 The Kūfans refuse to have Sa'íd ibn al-'Āṣ as governor, and Abū Mūsā is appointed in his stead.
- 36 Abū Mūsā supports 'Alī.
- 37 Abū Maṣ'ūd 'Alid governor.
- 38 Khārijite revolt in Kūfa. 'Alī suppresses it.
- 39
- 40 'Alī assassinated.
- 41 Mu'āwiya, as Caliph, appoints 'Abdallāh ibn 'Amr governor of Kūfa; then Mughīra ibn Shu'ba. Governor of Raiy is Kathīr ibn Shihāb. Khārijites defeated by Mu'āwiya near Kūfa.
- 43
- 44
- 45
- 46
- 48
- Battle of the Camel. Victory for 'Alī. 'Alid governors in Baṣra ('Abdallāh ibn 'Abbās) and in Khurāsān (Khu-laid).
- Revolt in Abrashahr and Merv.
- The citizens of Baṣra rise against 'Alī, and Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān ('Alī's lieutenant) is unable to restrain them.
- Insurrection in Fārs and Kirmān against taxation. Ziyād is sent by the 'Alid governor of Baṣra to suppress it. He is successful.
- Disorder in Baṣra. 'Alī's governor withdraws to Mecca. Ziyād is placed in charge of the land-tax (Kharāj).
- 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir governor of Baṣra for Mu'āwiya. Governor of Khurāsān is Kais ibn al-Haitham; of Sīstān 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Samura. Ziyād ('Alid supporter) is governor of Fārs. Khārijites suppressed by ibn 'Āmir near Baṣra.
- 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim governor of Khurāsān.
- 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir deposed; succeeded by Hārith ibn 'Abdallāh.
- Hārith deposed (after four months); Ziyād appointed. Khurāsān governed by Hakam ibn 'Amr al-Ghifārī. Khārijite revolt near Baṣra quelled.
- Rabī' ibn Ziyād governor of Sīstān.
- Ziyād's governor in Khurāsān is Ghālib ibn Faḍala.

A.H.

## KŪFA

## BAŞRA

- 49 Mugīra dies; succeeded by Ziyād as governor of both Kūfa and Başra.
- 50 Ziyād orders suppression of Khārijites.
- 51 'Amr ibn Huraith deputy-governor for Ziyād in Kūfa. 'Alid revolt suppressed.
- 52
- 53 Death of Ziyād (but see p. xliv). 'Abdallāh ibn Khālid governor of Kūfa; later Dahhāk ibn Kais (? cf. year 55).
- 54 Dahhāk sends Maṣkala ibn Hubaira on an ill-fated expedition to Tabaristān.
- 55 'Abdallāh ibn Khālid deposed by Mu'āwiya, and Dahhāk ibn Kais appointed (? cf. year 53).
- Ziyād appointed by Mu'āwiya over both Kūfa and Başra.
- Samura ibn Jundab sub-governor for Ziyād in Başra. Khārijite revolt suppressed. 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra sent by Ziyād to govern Sīstān. Khulaid ibn 'Abdallāh appointed by Ziyād as governor of Khurāsān. Ziyād advances into Kūhistān and subdues it. Siñān ibn Salama, governor of Sind, subdues Makrān.
- Khulaid ibn 'Abdallāh, governor of Khurāsān, succeeded by Rabī' ibn Ziyād, who later attacks Balkh and drives the Ephthalites into Kūhistān.
- 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra, governor of Sīstān, makes treaty with ruler of Kābul. Khārijite revolt suppressed in Irāk.
- Samura still governor of Başra. Khurāsān: Rabī' ibn Ziyād dies and is succeeded by his son 'Abdallāh as governor. The latter dies after two months and is succeeded by Khulaid ibn 'Abdallāh. (On the death of Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān his son 'Ubaidallāh is appointed by Mu'āwiya.) 'Ubaidallāh, governor of Sīstān, deposed; 'Abbād ibn Ziyād appointed (until A.H. 60).
- Samura deposed. 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Ghailān governor for six months; then succeeded by 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, governor of Khurāsān. 'Ubaidallāh, after crossing the Oxus, fighting the Turks, and making a treaty with the Prince of Bukhārā, returns to Başra.
- 'Ubaidallāh appoints Aslam ibn Zur'a governor of Khurāsān.

A.H.

KŪFA

56

BASRA

58 Dahhāk deposed by Mu'āwiya; 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abdallāh appointed, but later expelled by the citizens and sent by Mu'āwiya to govern Egypt.

59 Nu'mān ibn Bashīr appointed governor of Kūfa.

60 Nu'mān deposed by Yazid, and 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād appointed over both Kūfa and Baṣra.

61 'Alid defeat at Kerbela.

63

64 The citizens of Kūfa rise in favour of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair.  
Zubairid governor 'Āmir ibn Maṣ'ūd (for three months), followed by 'Abdallāh ibn Yazid.  
Shī'ite movement led by al-Mukhtār.

65 'Abdallāh ibn Yazid deposed and 'Abdallāh ibn Muṭī' appointed.

Sa'īd ibn 'Uthmān goes, with Mu'āwiya's permission, to Khurāsān with Muḥallab ibn Abī Ṣufra.  
Expedition across the Oxus; defeat of Sogdians.

Khārijite revolt suppressed by 'Ubaidallāh's soldiers.

Sa'īd recalled from Khurāsān.  
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād, appointed by Mu'āwiya, arrests Aslam ibn Zur'a. Sistān, governor 'Abbād ibn Ziyād; Kirmān, Sharīk ibn al-A'war.

Salm ibn Ziyād appointed to govern Khurāsān by the new Caliph Yazid.

Salm ibn Ziyād, governor of both Sistān and Khurāsān, appoints his brother Yazid ibn Ziyād over Sistān. Salm makes expedition into Transoxiana.

Salm ibn Ziyād deposes his brother Yazid and appoints Talha ibn 'Abdallāh as governor of Sistān. Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh sub-governor in Kābul for a year.

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād driven out of Baṣra by supporters of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair.

Zubairid governor 'Abdallāh ibn al-Hārith until arrival of 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh.

In Khurāsān Salm ibn Ziyād is ousted by 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim.

Muḥallab ibn Abī Ṣufra sent to fight against the Khārijites by the people of Baṣra.

A.H.

## KŪFA

BASRA

- 66 al-Mukhtār successfully gets control of Kūfa and extends his authority throughout 'Irāk.
- 67 Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, along with Muḥallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, attacks Mukhtār in Kūfa. The latter is killed, and Muṣ'ab with his lieutenants takes over Kūfa and the 'Irākian provinces. Muḥallab is made governor of Mosul, al-Jazīra, Adharbajān, and Armenia, while 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh ibn Mi'mar is in charge of Fārs.
- 68 Muṣ'ab appoints al-Hārith ibn 'Abdallāh as his deputy in Kūfa. al-Muḥallab continues to wage war against the Khārijites.
- 70
- 71 or 72 Muṣ'ab killed in the reconquest of 'Irāk by the forces of 'Abd al-Malik. The new governor of Kūfa (for forty days) is Kātan ibn 'Abdallāh. Thereafter he is succeeded by the Caliph's brother Bishr ibn Marwān. Muḥallab, still engaged in the suppression of the Khārijites under their leader Kātarī, forsakes the Zubairid cause, and offers allegiance to the Umayyad Caliph. Mukātil ibn Misma' is governor of Ardashīr-Khurra (see p. lvii).
- Zubairid governor: al-Hārith ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Rabī'a sends 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir to govern Sīstān. Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair appointed governor of Baṣra.
- Muṣ'ab deposed; Ḥamza ibn 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair appointed governor of Baṣra. Campaign against the Khārijites.
- Muṣ'ab governor of Baṣra for second time. Civil war in Sīstān; the Zubairid governor 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir for a short time driven out of the capital Zarānj.
- During the absence of Muṣ'ab from Baṣra Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh starts a rebellion in favour of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, but has to retire to Syria.
- Rivalry between Humrān ibn Abān and 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra for the governorship of Baṣra. The Umayyad Caliph ultimately appoints Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh. The governor of Khurāsān, 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, refuses to recognize the Umayyad Caliph. In the resulting civil disorder he is killed (A.H. 72). Bukair ibn Wīshāh becomes governor.

A.H.	KŪFA	BASRA
73	'Amr ibn Huraith sub-governor for <u>Bishr</u> ibn Marwān in Kūfa.	<u>Khālid</u> ibn 'Abdallāh deposed; <u>Bishr</u> ibn Marwān appointed governor of both Kūfa and Başra.
74	Muhallab ordered by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik to resume offensive against the Khārijites.	Sudden death of <u>Bishr</u> ibn Marwān. Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh made governor of <u>Khurāsān</u> . 'Abdallāh ibn Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, governor of Sistān, leads futile campaign against the Turks.
75	Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf appointed governor of Kūfa and Başra.	<u>Khālid</u> ibn 'Abdallāh driven out of Başra.
77	Kaṭarī, the Khārijite Caliph, is driven into Ṭabaristān and killed (in 79?).	Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, governor of <u>Khurāsān</u> , sends his lieutenant in <u>Tukhāristān</u> , Bukair ibn <u>Wishāh</u> , to raid Transoxiana. Bukair starts a rebellion in Merv, but is betrayed and killed. Hajjāj appoints over Fārs and Kirmān: (1) Kaṭan ibn Kabīsa, and (2) al-Hakam ibn Nahīk.
78	al-Mughira ibn 'Abdallāh appointed sub-governor of Kūfa by Hajjāj.	Umaiya deposed. Hajjāj resumes control of <u>Khurāsān</u> and Sistān. He appoints the victorious Muhallab over the former and 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra over the latter province.
79		Hajjāj obtains the control of Bahraīn and 'Umān in addition to the other provinces he already governs. From Sistān 'Ubaidallāh attacks the Turks. He dies after the disastrous defeat of his army.
80		'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muhammad ibn al-Ash'ath appointed to Sistān by Hajjāj.
81		Rebellion of 'Abd al-Rahmān against Hajjāj. Başra besieged.
82	'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muhammad attacks Kūfa.	Muhallab dies and is succeeded by his son Yazid as governor of <u>Khurāsān</u> .
83	Hajjāj finally victorious.	

*Biographical Sketches, with Notes on the Chronology of the Coins*

The following brief outlines of the significant events in the lives of those rulers and governors whose names figure on the Arab-Sassanian coins of the Umayyad Period are arranged below according to the sequence of the Catalogue. At the end of each sketch the chronology of the coins of each personage is considered. A few observations are prefaced regarding the three Sassanian kings whose names are also found on those Muhammadan coins.

(a) *Yezdigird III* (A.D. 632–651/2). The last ruling monarch of the once powerful Sassanian dynasty, Yezdigird witnessed the rapid encroachment of the Arab power on his dominions. The Sassanian coins which were issued by his authority are dated for each of the twenty years of his reign. The coins which the new rulers of Irān struck for a brief space after Yezdigird's downfall and death still actually bore his name but had Arabic legends in the margin. They all bear the date 20 (VIST) in Pehlevi.<sup>1</sup> This can only be regarded as a relic of the last coins issued by the defeated monarch himself, although, strange to say, it has been accepted by scholars of repute as being a date in the Muhammadan era. If it were so—and apart from any other arguments adducible against it—it would indeed be a remarkable coincidence that the last year of Yezdigird III, viz. 20 (which equals A.H. 31) should be the same numerically as the first year according to the Muhammadan era (i.e. A.H. 20) in which the invaders produced their first dated coins, and that all these Muhammadan coins with the name of Yezdigird should bear the same year. If this were indeed a Hijra date, why do we not find later instances dated up to A.H. 31, the year of Yezdigird's tragic end? It is rather significant that the coins with Yezdigird's name issued by the Muhammadans should be confined to the momentous year which marked the collapse of the Sassanian, and the triumph of the Islamic power.

Nützel in his Berlin Museum Catalogue<sup>2</sup> has correctly interpreted the date on these coins as being in the Yezdigird era. Moritz in his article on Arabic script in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (vol. i, p. 383) has assumed, in spite of Nützel to whom he refers, that the Hijra era is intended. Tiesenhausen in his *Corpus* (p. 10) also regarded the date as in the Muhammadan reckoning, and the same holds good

<sup>1</sup> A reported example with Yezdigird's name and the year 21 has been vouched for by only one authority, but never illustrated. See M. I, below, p. 5, and p. cxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, p. 398.

of such able numismatists as Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 280), Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 83), and Mordtmann in his earlier work (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 171). The latter has been followed in this conclusion by Caetani (*Chronographia Islamica*, p. 288, *et passim*). Although Lavoix in his Paris Catalogue had no example of this year, he definitely (vol. i, p. vii) ascribed the earliest coins of Arab-Sassanian type to the Caliphate of Omar (A.H. 13–23), as did also Ghalib Edhem in his Istanbul Museum Catalogue (p. 2).

Mordtmann afterwards revised his view. In *Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 83, he argued rightly that the Arabs in the year A.H. 20 were not in possession of Irān and therefore could not be credited with striking such coins at such an early date. The majority of these coins, moreover, have the mint-signature no. 52a in Pehlevi. This has usually been interpreted as = IZD, i.e. Yezd. If this were the case, a Hijra date for the Arab pieces would be impossible since the capture of that city had not been effected at that time. The possibility that the mint-signature in question, however, is not Yezd but, as the present writer is more inclined to believe, SK, i.e. Sistān, does not invalidate Mordtmann's line of argument. Besides, we have the remarkable coin in the British Museum (no. 1) which is of this date and bears a mint-signature (no. 40) which almost certainly stands for Merv, a place still farther removed from the sphere of Arab conquest at the time proposed. The most tenable conclusion, therefore, that we come to is, that the date on the Arab coins which have the name Yezdigird is reckoned in terms of the native era of Yezdigird (Y.E.), and that in consequence, Y.E. 20 = A.H. 31. But it must also be borne in mind that the certified mint-signatures on the Arab-Sassanian coins of Yezdigird III (no. 60 = BJR; no. 40 = MR, and no. 52a = SK) are also known on the regular Sassanian issues of the year 20 of that monarch. There is, then, always the possibility that the Arabs not only copied his name but also the mint-signature and date without any regard to actual time or place of minting, although, if this were the case, it is remarkable that their imitations should be confined to one particular year.

(b) *Khusrau II* (A.D. 590–628). This celebrated Sassanian king—grandfather of Yezdigird III—who extended his great empire so far to the west as to embrace for a few years even Jerusalem, left such abundant numismatic material behind him that practically every find of late Sassanian coins that is made is certain to contain specimens with his name. The fact that his coins were so plentiful and acceptable to the Irānians no doubt influenced the Arab conquerors in selecting

his particular coinage for many years as a standard type. It was a masterly stroke of policy on their part. Unlike their temporary use of the Yezdigird III type, the Arabs continued the Khusrau II type with that monarch's name in Pehlevi beyond the initial year of striking (21) and for practically every year—so far as we know—until at least the year 50 (if not until 63?). We even find a recrudescence of the type accompanied by his name as late as A.H. 74 about the time when several experiments were being tried out during 'Abd-al-Malik's famous coinage reform. Many—if not all—of the Arab-Sassanian coins with his name, having their mints and dates written in Pehlevi, must be dated in terms of the Yezdigird era.

(c) *Hormuzd IV* (A.D. 579–590). Hormuzd IV—the father of Khusrau II—had the numismatic distinction conferred on him of having his coinage copied after his death by the princes of Georgia during the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era.<sup>1</sup> The discovery of the unique Arab-Sassanian piece in the Istanbul Museum (I. 12, p. 24), with marginal legends in Arabic, but with the unmistakable effigy and the name of Hormuzd IV, opens up a new line of inquiry. The coin is undated; but the character of the obverse marginal legend is typical of the later coins in the Umayyad group, though on epigraphic grounds a still later date is more probable. The parallelism with Georgia might suggest that district as a possible mint provenance, but Muham-madan control did not extend there until the eighth century A.D.

#### A. UMAIYAD CALIPHS AND GOVERNORS

(a) *Mu'āwiya* (مُعاوِيَة), A.H. 41–60 = A.D. 661–680

Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, the first Caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, took a prominent part in the extension of the Arab régime in the early days of Islam, particularly in Syria, of which province he was governor for some twenty years. The assassination of the Caliph Othman (in A.H. 35) brought Mu'āwiya into conflict with 'Alī, resulting in his own successful recognition (in A.H. 41) as Caliph. A powerful opponent in Īrān, Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān (q.v.), was won over from the 'Alid cause by the diplomatic move of recognizing him as Mu'āwiya's step-brother. Thereafter he served as a sturdy buttress of the Umayyad house. Under Mu'āwiya the capital was fixed at Damascus, and from there, as political centre, the Caliph controlled and consolidated the far-flung domains of the Caliphate by a rigid devotion to duty, the organization of the army,

<sup>1</sup> See Victor Langlois, *Suites monétaires de la Géorgie*, p. 29.

and the wise appointment of reliable administrators in the provinces. In the twentieth year of his Caliphate he died (A.H. 60) leaving behind him a reputation as an enlightened ruler, whose glorious reign not even the calumnies of his political opponents could manage to sully. He may not unjustly be claimed as the Arab monarch *par excellence*. Before he passed away, by a last act of statesmanship he arranged for allegiance (*bai'ā*) to be paid to his son Yazid as his successor.

One of Mu'awiya's reforms, which has an indirect bearing on our subject, was his conversion of the old collective wealth of the Moslems (مال المسلمين) into what was technically termed 'the property of Allah' (مال الله), that is, the State Treasury. It would not be surprising in the circumstances if Mu'awiya, while involved in such financial adjustments, also sought to alter the coinage, and in fact he is credited with having tried to do so.<sup>1</sup>

The Arab-Sassanian coins with the name of Mu'awiya are somewhat rare. The only known specimens are all of the mint of Dārābjird and dated in the year 41, which, if in terms of the Hijra era, means that they must have been struck to mark the accession of Mu'awiya to the Caliphate. Similar coins of the same mint and date are also known to us, struck not only in the name of Mu'awiya's right-hand man in the Eastern Command, Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, and of the latter's deputy in Baṣra Samura ibn Jundab, but also of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir. The latter was certainly appointed to Baṣra and its dependencies in A.H. 41, whereas Ziyād and his deputy Samura did not occupy this important governorship until A.H. 45 and 50 respectively. Obviously, different eras are necessary to explain the apparent contradiction. Besides these governors the following also held office under Mu'awiya and issued coins with their own names: 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād and 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād.

(b) 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (عبد الملك بن مروان)

A.H. 65-86 = A.D. 685-705

The task that confronted 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, when he succeeded to the Caliphate on the murder of his father, was not an enviable one. On all sides was disruption. The principal centres of disaffection lay in the East—principally in the Hijāz and in 'Irāk.

<sup>1</sup> Makrizi, *Shudhūr al-'Uküd*, edited by L. A. Mayer, Pt. I, p. 4. But the reference is to coins of the Arab-Byzantine 'Standing Caliph' type which do not concern us in this volume of the Catalogue.

'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair (q.v.) had for some time now established his court at Mecca as a rival Caliph, with his governors actually in possession of the important fortress-cities of Kūfa and Baṣra. The manner in which 'Abd al-Malik overcame this formidable opposition and succeeded in unifying the vast expanse of his ever-increasing dominions, is a tribute to his masterly handling of the situation and his good fortune in securing the loyalty of several extremely able generals. Three of these have left their names on the coinage of the period—Mūsā ibn Nuṣair,<sup>1</sup> who carried the sword of Islam across North Africa into Spain; al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra (q.v.), who suppressed for the time being the fanatic sectarians of Īrān; and last and most renowned of all, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.), who may truly be said to have been the mainstay of the Umayyad cause.

Besides dissension from within the ranks of the Faithful, 'Abd al-Malik had also to contend with the constant menace of the Byzantines on his frontiers. In the early part of his reign he was actually forced to pay a large annual tribute to them in order to maintain a semblance of peace. Incidentally, it was this indemnity that, according to the Arab tradition, led to 'Abd al-Malik's celebrated reform of the coinage, together with the employment of Arabic as the official language on all government documents, thus displacing Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Pehlevi.

The progress of events in the East in 'Abd al-Malik's Caliphate may be briefly epitomized here. Kūfa had been captured from 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair's governor by a pretentious opportunist named al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubaid, who also managed to defeat an army sent against him by 'Abd al-Malik. He was, however, finally defeated in battle and killed (in A.H. 67) by Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair (q.v.), the brother of the rival Caliph who then held control of Baṣra, and who had joined forces with al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, who had not yet been won over to the side of 'Abd al-Malik. The removal of al-Mukhtar left the Caliph face to face with the two sons of al-Zubair, Muṣ'ab and 'Abdallāh. The former was killed in A.H. 72 and 'Irāk paid homage to the conqueror. The latter continued to control Arabia from Mecca until, having been besieged there by Ḥajjāj in command of the Caliph's troops, he was captured and put to death in A.H. 73. The victorious Ḥajjāj was rewarded with the governorship of the Hijāz, to be followed soon after in A.H. 75 by that of 'Irāk, which virtually led to his complete control of the Eastern Provinces. Together with al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, who

<sup>1</sup> His name occurs on certain coins of Arab-Byzantine type with Latin legends which will be dealt with in a subsequent volume of this Catalogue.

had wisely paid allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik on the defeat of Muṣ'ab, he waged a bitter campaign against the *Khawārij*, or religious sectarians, who were a continual source of annoyance to the Umayyad cause particularly in 'Irāk and Īrān. The debt that 'Abd al-Malik owed to Hajjāj is inestimable, and the great viceroy lived to serve in the same vigorous manner during the brilliant reign of the Caliph's son and successor al-Walid.

There is a striking parallelism between the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik and that of Mu'āwiya. Both found their empire in disorder, and managed to consolidate and enlarge it; Mu'āwiya with the help of Ziyād, 'Abd al-Malik with that of Hajjāj. Mu'āwiya is credited with introducing a new type of coinage (the 'Standing Caliph' type)<sup>1</sup> and 'Abd al-Malik, in an even more pronounced manner, refashioned the whole currency. Both of them plotted to ensure the dynastic succession for their progeny, and both succeeded in so doing, although it was only the timeous demise of 'Abd al-'Aziz, his brother, who was governor of Egypt, that furthered 'Abd al-Malik's schemes on behalf of his own son al-Walid, by removing a dangerous potential claimant.

Under 'Abd al-Malik the following governors, his partisans, issued coins in the Eastern Provinces :

- 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād.
- Salm ibn Ziyād.
- Mukātil ibn Misma'.
- al-Mughīra ibn al-Muhallab.
- Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh.
- Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh.
- Bishr ibn Marwān.
- 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra.
- Humrān ibn Abān.
- al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra.
- al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf.

Arab-Sassanian coins with 'Abd al-Malik's name and title 'Commander of the Faithful' in Pehlevi are by no means common, and those with his own and his father's name are still rarer. The latter emanate from the mint of Merv, year 75. His other mints are Ardashīr-Khurra, year 73, and Dārābjird, years 60 and 65. There is a very doubtful instance of the Bishāpūr mint. All his dates are in terms of the Hijra era, with the exception of those on the Dārābjird coins, which must be according to the Yezdigird era, i.e. A.H. 72 and 77.

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. xxxviii, above.

(i) عبد الله بن الزبير (*'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair*)

'Abdallāh was the nephew of 'Ā'isha, the Prophet's widow, and one of the leading members of the Islamic aristocracy. He is said to have had the distinction of being the first child born into Islam in Medina in the first year of the Hijra. Although only in his fourteenth year he was present at the Battle of Yarmūk (A.H. 15 = A.D. 636). In succeeding years he gained military experience in the conquests both of Egypt and North Africa. In A.H. 30 he was sent, along with Sa'id ibn al-Āṣ, in the expedition against Khurāsān. During the disruptive events occasioned by the assassination of the Caliph Othman (in 35), 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair played a prominent part. At the disastrous 'Battle of the Camel', in the following year, he commanded the infantry of his aunt 'Ā'isha in her ill-fated revolt in which Talha and Zubair, 'Abdallāh's father, both perished. When Mu'āwiya succeeded in securing the Caliphate (in 41) after his victory over 'Alī, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair apparently bided his time. In A.H. 56, when Mu'āwiya considered his position as Caliph to be secure, the grandees of Islam were invited to take the oath of allegiance to his son Yazid as heir apparent. Such an action was without precedent in Islam, the succession to the Caliphate having been formerly decided by election. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, naturally, resented Mu'āwiya's move, but as long as Mu'āwiya lived he accepted the situation. On the accession of Yazid (in 60), however, 'Abdallāh and the Prophet's grandson Husain revolted. Husain, with his companions, fell on the tragic field of Kerbela. 'Abdallāh made a bolder stand. It was not long before he was openly asserting his claims to the Caliphate, and Yazid had to dispatch an army to subdue the rebel. Medina was sacked in 63, and in the following year the Sacred City of Mecca, where 'Abdallāh had fixed his head-quarters, was besieged. If he thought the Holy Place would provide him with the benefit of sanctuary he was mistaken. During the hostilities the Ka'ba itself was burned to the ground and Mecca might have met the same fate as befell Medina, had not news arrived of the Caliph's demise. The weakness of his son Mu'āwiya II, who succeeded him, only served to strengthen 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair's cause, and in a short time the latter was acknowledged Caliph not only in the two Sacred Cities of Arabia, but in Egypt and, to some extent, even in Syria. The two strongholds in 'Irāk, Baṣra and Kūfa, sided with him, while the Irānian provinces were seething with Khārijites and members of the Shī'at 'Alī, all bitter opponents of the house of Umaiya. Thus only a small portion of Syria remained

loyal to the orthodox Caliph at Damascus. This was 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair's great opportunity. He lost it by remaining behind in Arabia.

Mu'āwiya II after a brief reign of three months died, and Marwān, an able member of another branch of the Umayyad family, was, in the circumstances, elected to succeed him as Caliph. The choice was a fortunate one. Marwān succeeded in regaining much that had been lost, but he enjoyed his high office for barely a year before he was murdered by an offended wife. The son who succeeded him (in 65), however, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (q.v.), was destined to stabilize the Umayyad dynasty. With the aid of his powerful generals, particularly al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.) and al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra (q.v.), the new Caliph brought about the downfall of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair and his adherents. 'Abdallāh's brother Muṣ'ab (q.v.) was killed in 72; and the *coup de grâce* was given in 73 when 'Abdallāh himself was captured and put to death by Hajjāj.

'Abdallāh's coins are divisible into two classes: (a) those bearing his name in Pehlevi, '*Abdallāh son of al-Zubair*'; and (b) those bearing his name and title in Pehlevi, '*Abdallāh Commander of the Faithful*'.

His known mints and dates are as follows:

Class (a): *Ardashir-Khurra*, years 65 ?, 66, and 67

*Kirmān*, years 62, 63, 66-69

*Zaranj* ?, year 69 ?

Class (b): *Dārābjird*, years 53, 54, 56, 57, 60

*Kirmān*, year 67

*Istakhr*, years 63 ? and 66.

All the above dates are in terms of the Hijra era, except those from the mint of *Dārābjird*, which must be in the Yezdigird era, since 'Abdallāh did not assume the title of *Commander of the Faithful* until A.H. 61.<sup>1</sup> Therefore these particular coins were issued between the years A.H. 65-72, that is, practically until the year of his death.

The following governors, his partisans, issued coins in their own names under 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, as rival Caliph (A.H. 61-73): Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, his brother; 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh; 'Abdallāh ibn *Khāzim*.

The coins with the name of 'Abdallāh's other supporter al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra (q.v.) were all struck after the latter had gone over to the Umayyad party.

## (ii) *Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān* (زياد بن أبي سفyan)

Ziyād has been deemed by some the greatest man of his age. The uncertainty that obscured his paternity has been often simplified by

<sup>1</sup> Mordtmann, *S.K.B.A.*, 1871, p. 680, wrongly dates his claim to the title to A.H. 64.

referring to him as *Ziyād ibn Abīhi*, 'Son of his father'.<sup>1</sup> Whether he actually was the son of *Abū Sufyān*, and in consequence the step-brother of the Caliph *Mu'āwiya* will never be known. *Mu'āwiya*, however, very diplomatically recognized the supposititious relationship in order to win *Ziyād* over from the 'Alid cause into his own service. In A.H. 44 *Ziyād* was officially accepted as the Caliph's brother, and in the following year (45) was granted the important command of *Baṣra* and its appanages. Although the task before him was far from an easy one, *Ziyād* was the very man for quelling the rebellious elements in the Eastern Provinces, a duty which his predecessors had failed to perform. Only one year previously *'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir* (q.v.) had been deposed for leniency. *Ziyād*, in this respect, was his antithesis. From the outset, when he startled the citizens of *Baṣra* with his stern inaugural address, he crushed all opposition with unflinching severity. In A.H. 49 or 50 the grateful Caliph gave him the additional responsibility of controlling *Kūfa*. He was thus the first governor to possess the dual control of the two great garrison-cities of the Eastern Caliphate. He spent six months alternately in each of them; and during his absence the administration was left in the hands of a deputy governor. In *Baṣra* he appointed *Samura ibn Jundab* (q.v.); in *Kūfa*, '*Amr ibn Hurait*'. Of the former of these sub-lieutenants coins are known (p. 46).

As Viceroy in the two 'Irāks *Ziyād*'s sway extended far beyond into Arabia and the Eastern Provinces. The traditional date of his death is given as the year A.H. 53.<sup>2</sup> The coins struck with his name, however, bear dates which do not seem to support this conclusion. Mordtmann<sup>3</sup> naturally made the same deduction and arrived at the date 56 for *Ziyād*'s death, since, according to him, he knew of coins with *Ziyād*'s name of this date. This last point I have disputed (see Catalogue, M. 24, p. 44).<sup>4</sup> The latest verifiable date for a coin of *Ziyād* known to me is A.H. 55. There are two possible ways of accounting for this date: Either (a) the traditional date (53) for *Ziyād*'s death is to be accepted, in which case the coins of later date are posthumous issues; or (b) the

<sup>1</sup> The coin recorded by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 465, no. 155), which is said to have borne the Pehlevi equivalent of this has certainly been misread (see Catalogue, p. 181). It is preposterous to imagine such a slur on *Ziyād*'s paternity being permitted to appear on his coinage.

<sup>2</sup> See Caetani, *Chron. Islamica*, p. 593.

<sup>3</sup> *Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 91; and, following him, Lammens in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 1912, p. 683; and Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> The same applies to Thomas's coin (T. 6, p. 39). Lammens (*op. cit.*) suggested that *Ziyād*'s death might even have taken place in A.H. 57. See also his article on *Ziyād* in the *Encycl. of Islam*.

traditional date is wrong and therefore the coins testify to Ziyād's survival until A.H. 55 at least. The dates on certain of the coins of Ziyād's son and successor 'Ubaidallāh would seem to corroborate the former view. But the question of the particular era involved in these dates has also to be considered.

A comparison between the coin dates of certain mints of Ziyād and his son 'Ubaidallāh will show how the evidence can be made to fit either of the two possibilities above mentioned :

<i>Ziyād</i>	<i>'Ubaidallāh</i>
Baṣrā, years 51 or 53, 55.	years 51, 52 ?, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.
Bishāpūr, years 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.	years 51, 53.
Dārābjird, years 41, 43.	years 26, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52.

Take the case of Baṣra. If Ziyād lived until A.H. 55, then the coins of 'Ubaidallāh after that date (i.e. 56–64) would correspond, but unfortunately his coins dated 51 and 52 can only agree with this view if we equate them in terms of the Yezdigird era (i.e. = A.H. 63, 64). The same would apply in the case of Bishāpur. Ziyād's coins would extend from A.H. 50–54, while 'Ubaidallāh's, dated in terms of the Yezdigird era, would be from A.H. 63–65. The Dārābjird mint dates, however, are not so easy to reconcile. Ziyād was not appointed governor in Baṣra, with control of Dārābjird, until A.H. 45. In consequence, the era of Yezdigird alone can solve the difficulty. Ziyād's coins struck at Dārābjird must have been issued in A.H. 52–55. This would agree with the suggested date of his death in A.H. 55. But 'Ubaidallāh's coins from this mint complicate matters. His earliest dated coin (26) must be reckoned in terms of the Post-Yezdigird era (= A.H. 58). As for his Dārābjird date 41, this cannot be P.-Y.E. 41 = A.H. 73 since 'Ubaidallāh was killed in A.H. 67. On the other hand, if we equate it with the Yezdigird era, Y.E. 41 = A.H. 52/53, it clashes with Ziyād's term of government. His other dates at this mint, however, 45–52, can easily be interpreted as A.H. 57–64. It is just possible that the Dārābjird 41 was an old reverse re-used. It is a common date on coins of several governors who struck coins there; besides Khusrau II and Mu'āwiya coins we have coins of Ziyād and his lieutenant Samura ibn Jundab and also of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir and 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād. Allowing, therefore, for the few instances of overlapping, the major portion of the coin evidence would point to the year A.H. 55 as the date of Ziyād's death.

Completely trusted by the Caliph Mu'āwiya in the control of these

vast and often turbulent dominions, Ziyād ruled sternly but loyally. His sons 'Ubaidallāh (q.v.) and Salm (q.v.) in particular carried on their father's policy of colonial settlement and expansion.

One of Ziyād's acts that has a bearing on our subject is his division of the great province of Khurāsān into four independent districts : Merv, Abrashahr (or Naisābūr), Merv al-Rūdh, and Herāt.<sup>1</sup> Of these the only one known from his coins as a mint is Abrashahr, though the whole four are mint-places of his son Salm. Ziyād's coinage of dirhams —which incidentally is mentioned by Maqrīzī<sup>2</sup>—is represented by the products of the following mints :

Besides Abrashahr, we have Bishāpūr, Baṣra, Dārābjird, Nihāvand, Nahr-Tirā, al-Raiy, Iṣṭakhr, Zaranj, Hamadhān, and four uncertain mints that I have conjecturally located as Dasht-i Maisān, al-Shīrajān, Zanjān, and -Kobādh ?

### (iii) *Samura ibn Jundab* (سمرة بن جندب)

Samura ibn Jundab al-Fazārī was one of the *Sahāba*, or Companions of the Prophet. In the year A.H. 50, after Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān was appointed governor of Kūfa in addition to Baṣra, Samura was made his deputy in the latter city.<sup>3</sup> Samura, in pursuance of Ziyād's policy, launched a fierce attack on the Khārijites in his province in his capacity as head of the gendarmerie (*shurṭa*) and by his acts of cruelty and slaughter earned for himself an unenviable reputation. After the death of Ziyād, which is usually placed in A.H. 53,<sup>4</sup> Samura continued in office for six (or according to another tradition, eighteen) months. Then he was dismissed by the Caliph Mu'āwiya. His words on learning of the Caliph's action are anticipatory of Cardinal Wolsey's : *Had I obeyed God as I have obeyed him* [i.e. Mu'āwiya] *He would never have punished me*.<sup>5</sup> The date of his death, after a violent cold (الزمهر), is given as A.H. 58.<sup>6</sup>

Ibn al-Aṭhīr<sup>7</sup> says that Samura ruled Baṣra for Mu'āwiya until the arrival of Ziyād's son 'Ubaidallāh from Khurāsān, but he rectifies this statement later on<sup>8</sup> by recording that, between the time of Samura's dismissal and the appointment of 'Ubaidallāh, Baṣra was under the control of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Amir ibn Ghailān for six months.

<sup>1</sup> See Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, iii, p. 377.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibn al-Aṭhīr*, iii, p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> But see above, p. xliv.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibn al-Aṭhīr*, *ibid.*, p. 412. لَوْ اطَّمَتُ اللَّهَ كَمَا اطَّعْتُهُ مَا عَذَّبَنِي أَبْدًا

<sup>6</sup> *Ibn al-Aṭhīr*, *ibid.*, pp. 412, 430. But Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 641, quotes authorities for A.H. 59 or 60.

<sup>7</sup> ii, p. 271.

<sup>8</sup> iii, p. 414.

Samura's coinage is exceedingly rare. There is no specimen in any Museum Collection known to me. The only examples recorded belong to the mint of Dārābjird and are dated in the year 41. 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād also struck coins at the same mint with the same date. Obviously the era employed in both cases must have been that of Yezdigird, which places them in the year A.H. 52/53. (But see p. xliv.)

(iv) *'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir* (عبد الله بن عامر)

'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Kuraiz (born in A.H. 4) was appointed at an early age (A.H. 29), by his cousin the Caliph Othman, as governor of Baṣra. In the succeeding years he earned great fame on account of his conquests in Irān. He is even said to have penetrated beyond Khurāsān into Transoxiana.<sup>1</sup> In the struggle for the Caliphate that ensued on the murder of Othman (A.H. 35) 'Abdallāh was involved. He naturally sided with 'A'isha, the Prophet's widow, in her attempt to avenge the death of the Caliph. When peace was restored in A.H. 41 by the appointment of Mu'āwiya as first Umaiyad Caliph, 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir was reinstated in his old governorship of Baṣra. But—strange as it may appear in those turbulent times—'Abdallāh was deposed in A.H. 44 because he was found to be too lenient. Thereafter until his death in 57<sup>2</sup> at Mecca he lived practically in retirement.

His coins, minted at Dārābjird and Bishāpūr in 41 and 44 respectively, must have been issued during the time when he was governor of Baṣra for the second time, with control over Fārs, Khurāsān, and Sīstān. Consequently, they must bear Hijra dates, although the coins of Ziyād dated 41 and minted also at Dārābjird can only fit in with the historical facts by being considered as dated according to the era of Yezdigird (see Ziyād). Even after his deposition in 44 we have his name appearing on coins of Ardashir-Khurra for the year 47.<sup>3</sup> There is a coin of an uncertain mint (perhaps Sīstān?) with his name, according to Mordtmann (see Catalogue, M. 29, p. 49), dated 44, which must, if true, be a Hijra date. As for his coins of Nahr-Tirā (year 20) and of uncertain mint (BN ?, year 30) the former is certainly not of the Hijra era, while the latter may be, though a Yezdigird reckoning is more probable

<sup>1</sup> See Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 6 and 185.

<sup>2</sup> See Caetani, *Chronographia*, pp. 629–30, for further references.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the coins of 'Abdallāh mentioned below struck at Nahr-Tirā in 48 and at an uncertain mint (al-Shirajān ?) in the year 50. There is no record of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir receiving an appointment after A.H. 44. It is just possible that another governor of the same name may have been responsible for these later coins. The only other governor of this name ('Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Ghailān) was in office in Baṣra for a few months in the year A.H. 54, but the dates on the coins do not support his claim to consideration.

(i.e. = A.H. 41). A certain number of coins besides, which have the name 'Abdallāh only on them, appear to have been struck during his periods of government. They are considered in the next section.

(v) 'Abdallāh (عبد الله)

Coin with the name 'Abdallāh are known from the following mints:

- Bishāpūr, years 42? and 44 (A.H.)
- Dārābjird, year 41 (A.H.)
- Nahr-Tirā, years 20? (= A.H. 31?) and 48 (A.H.)
- Nihāvand, year 41 (A.H.)
- BJ?, year 20? (= A.H. 31?)
- Kanja?, year 40? (A.H.)
- al-Shīrajān?, year 50 (A.H.)
- Zaranj, year 41 (A.H.).

Most of these agree with known mints and dates of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, and it is most probable that all of these coins were struck under that governor (q.v.).

(vi) 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād (عبد الله بن زياد)

'Ubaidallāh was the most outstanding of the sons of Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān (q.v.). Appointed by the Caliph Mu'āwiya in A.H. 53 as governor of Khurāsān, he led his troops into Transoxiana and invaded the country as far as Bukhārā, where he defeated the soldiers of the Bukhār-Khudā (see p. lxxxi). After this successful campaign he was recalled to 'Irāk (in 55) in order to fill the post of his late father as governor of Baṣra. There, one of his most pressing problems was the pacification of the Khārijite section of the community. This he managed to secure after stern measures had been adopted. When the Caliph Yazid succeeded (in 60), he placed Kūfa as well as Baṣra under the administration of 'Ubaidallāh. In the following year occurred the tragedy at Kerbela, when the Prophet's grandson Ḥusain and his followers were massacred by the soldiers of 'Ubaidallāh. For this act the partisans of the house of 'Alī have ever afterwards relentlessly cursed him. When the death of Yazid occurred (in 64), and the ever-recurring struggle for the Caliphate once again presented itself, 'Ubaidallāh actually had homage paid to himself in Baṣra. But opposition on the part of his subjects drove him out of 'Irāk into Syria, where, following the death of the short-lived Mu'āwiya II, he firmly supported the new Caliph Marwān, who gave him orders to recapture 'Irāk. Under the latter's son 'Abd al-Malik, the fifth Umayyad Caliph, 'Ubaidallāh continued the struggle. In the year 67, near Mosul on the banks

of the River Zāb, however, he met his death in battle in consequence of treachery within the Syrian ranks. His head was taken triumphantly by the enemy to Kūfa and cast before the Shī'a adventurer Mukhtār on the place where some years before 'Ubaidallāh had similarly treated the head of 'Ali's son, Ḥusain. Thus was Kerbela avenged.

'Ubaidallāh's coins are distributed over a considerable number of mints, as follows:

Abrashahr, year 60 (A.H.)

Airan (Sūsa ?), years 29 ?, 30, 31, 32 (probably in terms of the Post-Yezdigird era, i.e. c. A.H. 61-64), 56 ?, 59, 60, and 61 (obviously A.H.)

Adharbaijān, years 62, 63 (A.H.)

Balkh, year 62 (A.H.)

Bihkobādh, years 60, 61 (A.H.)

Bishāpūr, years 51 and 53. The former, if not the latter also, must be in the Yezdigird era, i.e. = A.H. 63 and 65

Baṣra, years 51, 52, 56-64, 67 ? The first two must = A.H. 63-64

BSH ?, years 51 ? (or 59 ?), 58, 59, 60. The first date if 51 must be Y.E. = A.H. 62

Dārābjird, years 26 (P.-Y.E., i.e. = A.H. 58), 41, 45-48, 51, 52. All the latter are Y.E., i.e. = c. A.H. 52/3-64

Sistān, years 56, 57 ?, 58 ? (A.H.)

Kirmān, years 56 ?, 59-62 (A.H.)

Nihāvand, years 57-60, 62 ?-63 (A.H.)

Uncertain, year 27 ? (P.-Y.E. = c. A.H. 59)

al-Raiy, years 38 ? (era ?), 60-63 (A.H.), 68 (A.H.; posthumous)

Dasht-i-Maisān, years 56, 61 ?, 62-64 (A.H.)

Istakhr, years 52 ? (Y.E., i.e. = 64 A.H.), 60-62 (A.H.). Copper coin, year 59 ? (A.H.)

Zaranj, years 26 (P.-Y.E., i.e. = A.H. 58), 57 (A.H.)

Zanjān, years 60, 63 (A.H.)

Mintless, years 56, 57 (A.H.).

Although three eras can be distinguished on the coins of 'Ubaidallāh there is no case of the three being employed at the same mint. There are also coins with the name 'Ubaidallāh only on them. They almost certainly belong to this governor (see next section). 'Ubaidallāh also issued the remarkable coin (Catalogue, no. 75, p. 52) of a new type without mint or date.

There is a tradition quoted by Sauvaire<sup>1</sup> that 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād was the first to strike dirhams of inferior alloy (called *zuyūf*) when he fled from Baṣra to Syria and lodged amongst the Arabs. There is

<sup>1</sup> *Matériaux*, p. 18. In the original 'Ubaidallāh is referred to as Ibn Murjāna, 'Son of Murjāna', the latter being his mother, who is mentioned in *Ibn al-Aṭhir*, iv, p. 219.

no trace of this fact, however, amongst the surviving dirhams of this governor.

(vii) 'Ubaidallāh (عبد الله)

The rare coins with the name 'Ubaidallāh only on them are from the mint of Herāt in Khurāsān. The years recorded are 52? and 56. The former is vouched for only by Markoff and on the face of it seems doubtful, considering that 'Ubaidallāh (ibn Ziyād) was not governor of this province until at least A.H. 53.

(viii). Salm ibn Ziyād<sup>1</sup> (سلم بن زياد)

If his brother 'Ubaidallāh was the most distinguished, and 'Abd al-Rahmān the most avaricious of the sons of Ziyād, Salm may be said to have been the most liberal (أجود بنى زياد). Khurāsān was governed in turn by the three sons of Ziyād after his death, firstly 'Ubaidallāh (q.v.), then 'Abd al-Rahmān (q.v.), and lastly Salm. Two other sons, 'Abbād and Yazīd, for a space governed Sīstān. Salm received his commission from the Caliph Yazīd (in 60/61), and in his zeal to pursue his father's and his brother's policy of territorial expansion he sought the help of such able generals as al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra (q.v.) and 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim (q.v.). His campaign against the Turks met with some success. He even reached Samarkand, the chief town of Sughd, where his wife bore him a son. He was the first Arab governor of Khurāsān to pass the winter in Transoxiana. Any further conquests he might have made were prevented by the civil discord throughout the Islamic world aroused by the death of the Caliph Yazīd (in 64). Like his brother 'Ubaidallāh in Başra, Salm had homage paid to him provisionally by his subjects during the interregnum. But like his brother he was forced to take to flight, leaving behind him in his place al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra and a bitter inter-tribal warfare, which continued to trouble Khurāsān for some time. Salm himself died in 73.<sup>2</sup>

Salm's coins are of the following mints and dates :

Abrashahr, years 63 and 64 (A.H.)

Ardashir-Khurra, year 26 (P.-Y.E. = A.H. 58)

Balkh, year 67? (A.H.)

Dārābjird, year 26 (P.-Y.E. = A.H. 58)

Herāt, years 67 and 69 (A.H.)

<sup>1</sup> His name is variously rendered. Barthold (*Turkestan*), Gibb (*Arab Conquests*), and Wellhausen (*Arab Kingdom*) give Salm. Zambaur gives Salam; Mordtmann, Selem. Nützel's and Lavoix's Selim is quite impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 873.

## INTRODUCTION

Sistān, year 56 (v.E. = A.H. 68)  
 Merv, years 62–65, 66 ?, 67 ?, 68 ?, 69, and 70 (A.H.)  
 Merv al-Rūdh, years 63, 64, 67 ?, and 70 (A.H.)  
 Uncertain mints, years 63 and 64 (A.H.).

All these must have been struck during his governorship of the province of Khurāsān. One of the uncertain mints is apparently PALHAN (no. 46), which I have suggested was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sistān province, which was also under Salm's control although he had, of course, his lieutenant in charge there. Besides, we also have coins of Salm with a mint-signature (no. 52) which I have interpreted as Sistān and dated 56. As he was not appointed to Sistān until A.H. 60 or 61 this date must be in the Yezdigird era (= A.H. 68).

Salm's coins struck at Ardashīr-Khurra and Dārābjird, both in the province of Fārs, and dated 26, must be dated according to the Post-Yezdigird era, i.e. = A.H. 58. As his brother 'Ubaidallāh was governor of Baṣra and its dependencies including Fārs Province at that time—and, in fact, issued coins from Dārābjird with the same date—we must conclude that Salm must have deputized for his brother in that region, although there appears to be no statement to this effect in the annalists.

As A.H. 64 witnessed the proclamation of the rival Caliph 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair and the success of his supporter 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim in ousting Salm from authority in Khurāsān, the coins after this date with his name must be regarded either as lingering efforts on the part of Salm's partisans to maintain his claim, or evidence that the mint officials were utilizing old dies. The anomalous position is seen if we collate the mints and dates of the two governors. In Abrashahr (Naisābūr), which was the seat of government for the province, the mint-history reads in conformance with events, but not so in the case of Merv.

Mint	Salm	'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim
Abrashahr	63, 64	65, 67, 68, 69
Balkh	67 ?	67, 68
Herāt	67, 69	[ 'Abdallāh's son Muhammad, 67 ]
Merv	62–65, 66 ?, 67 ?, 68 ?, 69, 70	63–67, 69, 70, 72, 73
Merv-al-Rūdh	63, 64, 67 ?, 70	69
<u>Khurāsān</u>		63

The Arab-Ephthalite coins, which I have ascribed to 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, are not included in the above. They are Khurāsān 63, 68, and

69, and Merv 69. The latter has the additional interest of having on its reverse an Ephthalite legend similar to one on a coin of Salm of the same mint and of the previous year (no. 138, p. 81).

(ix) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād (عبد الرحمن بن زياد)

The coins attributed to this governor bear a Pehlevi name-legend which might equally well be read as 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Zaid. But as there was no governor, or sub-governor, with this name, so far as we know, functioning in the Eastern Provinces at this time it is natural to suppose that the name is defectively spelt and that 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād is actually intended.<sup>1</sup> Although less distinguished than either of his other brothers 'Ubaidallāh (q.v.) and Salm (q.v.), 'Abd al-Rahmān, nevertheless, like them was appointed to an important official position under the Umayyads. We know that between A.H. 58/59 and 60/61 he was governor of Khurāsān with head-quarters at Abrashahr (Naisābūr), after which he was deposed and succeeded by his brother Salm. He was chiefly noted for his rapacity. No coins of his struck in the province of Khurāsān are so far known. The coins we do have with his name—if indeed the usual identification be correct—are from mints in the region of Khūzistān or Fārs, and of an earlier date as follows:

Arrajān	54
BJ	52, 53
Birāmkobādh	54
Nahr-Tirā	54

If these dates are in the Hijra era, as is most probable, they seem to indicate that 'Abd al-Rahmān was a sub-governor in those parts under his father Ziyād. However that may be, his mints and dates, as we shall see, are closely associated with those of another governor, namely, al-Hakam ibn Abi 'l-'Āṣ (q.v.).

(x) al-Hakam ibn Abi 'l-'Āṣ (الحاكم بن أبي العاص)

The full name of this person was Abū 'Abdallāh al-Hakam ibn Abi 'l-'Āṣ ibn Umaiya al-Thākafi. During the Caliphate of Omar (A.H. 13–23) he appears in the annals along with his brother 'Uthman, the governor

<sup>1</sup> Mordtmann (*S.K.B.A.*, 1871, p. 698) preferred to read 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Zaid and to identify him with the general of that name who took part in the campaign against North Africa during the Caliphate of Omar.

of 'Umān and Bahraīn, engaged in the conquest of Fārs. Mordtmann,<sup>1</sup> who, as Stickel had done,<sup>2</sup> correctly identified him, states that he died in A.H. 35 and therefore, he argued, the coins in question, which are dated in the years 56 and 57, must be regarded as dated in the era of Khusrāu II in order to make them = A.H. 24/25 and 25/26. He was apparently unaware that Ibn al-Athīr<sup>3</sup> records that in A.H. 45 al-Hakam was still alive and narrowly missed being appointed governor of Khurāsān by Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān through a mistake on the part of the chamberlain who conveyed the commission to another al-Hakam, called ibn 'Amr al-Ghifārī. The latter died in A.H. 50. Although we hear nothing further concerning him in the annalists, the coins clearly show that he received a subsequent appointment as provincial governor.<sup>4</sup> His mints also indicate that his control extended over much the same territory as did his predecessor's, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād (q.v.), i.e. the provinces of Fārs and Khūzistān, and judging from his early associations with that region it is not surprising that this should be the case. His rule, apparently, was of short duration. The mints and dates of the two governors make an interesting comparison:

Mints	'Abd al-Rahmān	Hakam
Arrājān	54	56
Bīj	52, 53	—
Birāmḳobādh	54	58
Nahr-Tirā	54	56
Fil	—	56, 57?

(xi) 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim (خازم بن الله عبد)

Ibn Khāzim, one of the Prophet's Companions, looms large in the early history of the Muhammadian occupation of the province of Khurāsān. In A.H. 32 he was in charge of the troops of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir (q.v.) at the capture of Herāt, and in the following year he received the governorship of the newly captured province of Khurāsān. This post he held until the 'Alid party appointed their own partisans to govern the provinces. But following the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty under Mu'āwiya (in A.H. 41) 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim was restored to Khurāsān in that year. This important command he exercised during the years A.H. 41–44. Eventually, however, he aban-

<sup>1</sup> Z.D.M.G., 1879, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Handbuch, ii, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> iii, p. 377.

<sup>4</sup> A district in Baṣra was named after him and called Ḥakamān (Yākūt, ii, 302).

doned his allegiance to the Umayyads and sided with the rival Caliph, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair. Even the inducement later held out to him by the Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, of the revenues of Khurāsān for seven years in return for his allegiance to the Umayyad cause failed to win him back. Success attended his venture and from A.H. 63/64, when he defeated the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Salm ibn Ziyād (q.v.), until his death at the Battle of Merv in A.H. 72 he was in practically independent control of the province, with his central residence at Abrashahr (Naisābūr). The only coins of his that we so far know belong to this period. The latest coin is dated A.H. 73, which may be considered a posthumous issue. A comparison between his mints and dates and those of the titular Umayyad governor, Salm ibn Ziyād, has already been made (see above, p. 1) and provides valuable contemporary information regarding the political situation at the time.

During this period we also have the special group of coins with legends in Ephthalite script which I have attributed to this governor (see pp. 127-9). The mints and dates on these latter are :

Khurāsān, years 63, 68, and 69 (A.H.)  
Merv, year 69 (A.H.).

Although we have no coins with 'Abdallah's name struck at Herāt, we do have evidence that his son Muḥammad (q.v.), who was his deputy in that town, minted dirhams there in A.H. 67.

(xii) *Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh (ibn Khāzim)*

(محمد بن عبد الله بن خازم)

Only one coin that can be attributed to this governor is known (Catalogue, p. 95). It was minted at Herāt in the year A.H. 67. According to the annalists the city of Herāt was captured by the Zubairid governor, 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim (q.v.), about A.H. 64/65. After this subjugation the latter appointed his son Muḥammad as governor of the place. But some of 'Abdallāh's supporters from the tribe of Tamīm, who had become disaffected, forced their way into Herāt and killed Muḥammad. This event according to Ibn al-Aṭhir<sup>1</sup> occurred in the year A.H. 65. The coin-date seems to contradict this, although the actual Pehlevi date-legend is written defectively and may be a bungled form of 65.

<sup>1</sup> iv, p. 171.

(xiii) *Talha ibn 'Abdallāh (الله بن عبد الله)*

In A.H. 63 Salm ibn Ziyād (q.v.) appointed as his representative in Sīstān Talha ibn 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'i. This governor took the place of Yazid ibn Ziyād, Salm's deposed brother. One of his feats was to overthrow the native ruler (or *Zunbil*) of Kābul and ransom Salm's other brother Abū 'Ubaida for 500,000 dirhams. His rule over Sīstān, however, did not last long in the troublous period of revolt inaugurated by the insurrection of 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim in the Eastern Provinces. Talha is often named 'the Talha of Talhas' (*Talha al-Talahāt*). He died in A.H. 81.<sup>1</sup>

The coins, which have only recently been published<sup>2</sup> for the first time, are dated in the years A.H. 64 and 66 and bear a mint-signature (no. 52 c) which I have interpreted as that of the mint of Sīstān.

(xiv) *'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir*

(عبد العزيز بن عبد الله بن عامر)

In A.H. 66 the Zubairid governor of Baṣra, al-Hārith ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Rabi'a, sent a new governor to the province of Sīstān; this was 'Abd al-'Azīz. The latter, like his Umayyad predecessor Talha ibn 'Abdallāh (q.v.), also waged war against the native prince of Kābul, in the course of which the latter perished. Again in A.H. 68 we hear of 'Abd al-'Azīz being temporarily driven from his capital at Zaranj during the civil disturbances in the province. He was able, however, to carry off the public treasury with him, a fact which no doubt aided his successful return to power. The coin evidence is in complete agreement with his governorship if we interpret his mint-signature (no. 52 d) as indicating Sīstān, as I have done both here and in the case of Talha. The known coins belong to the year 66 (A.H.). Certain other coins which have been attributed to the same governor are discussed in the Notes (pp. 192 and 201).

(xv) *'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir)*

(عبد الملك بن عبد الله بن عامر)

There is a brief mention<sup>3</sup> of this governor's appointment in the annals of the eventful days when the Umayyad control in the East was seriously

<sup>1</sup> Caetani, *Chronographia*, p. 975.<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 290 f.<sup>3</sup> Tabari, *Annales*, ii, pp. 463-4; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, p. 409.

challenged in A.H. 64/65. After 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād (q.v.) had been driven out of Başra, the citizens united and made 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abdallāh their Amīr. After a brief tenure of office he was superseded by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Hārith ibn Naufal (p. 200) who held the appointment for two or three months until the rival Caliph, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair (q.v.), nominated his own representative to the post in the person of 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh ibn Mi'mar (q.v.). The latter was succeeded in turn by al-Hārith ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Rabī'a (65/66) and by Muṣab ibn al-Zubair (66/67).

The sole mint of 'Abd al-Malik is Bishāpūr and the date is positively (A.H.) 66. This seems to indicate that after being governor of Başra he was later in charge of the province of Fārs. The same deduction can be made in the case of the coins of 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh (see below).

(xvi) 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh (ibn Mi'mar) (عمر بن عبید الله بن معمر)

Under the rival Caliph, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair (q.v.), 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh was for a short time governor of Başra in A.H. 64/65. His successor was al-Hārith ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Rabī'a. In A.H. 67 we find him as governor of the province of Fārs. In this capacity he was sent by the then governor of Başra, Muṣab ibn al-Zubair (q.v.), on what proved to be a somewhat unsuccessful campaign against the Khārijites. His coins issued in the province of Fārs are all dated between the years A.H. 67–70, that is, until the civil war turned in favour of the Umayyad party with the reconquest of 'Irāk by the troops of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. 'Umar, like his superior, al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra, was apparently won over to the loyalist side, since in A.H. 73 we are told that he was dispatched by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik to deal with the religious sectarians of Bahraīn.<sup>1</sup>

'Umar's coins come from the following mints:

Ardashīr-Khurra, years 68, 69, 70 (A.H.)

Bishāpūr, years 67, 68, 69, 70 (A.H.)

Iṣṭakhr, years 69, 70 (A.H.)

Uncertain mint (no. 45 a), year 69 (A.H.).

The first three are all centres of administration in the province of Fārs. In all probability the uncertain mint was also in that province, or in the neighbouring province of Jibāl, as has been tentatively suggested (p. cxxv).

Besides the above coins 'Umar also apparently minted dirhams at

<sup>1</sup> Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 860.

Baṣra and for Kirmān Province in the year 65. This coincides with his term of office as governor of Baṣra and its dependencies, of which Kirmān was one. Kirmān was also a mint of 'Umar's overlord, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, until A.H. 69, and of the latter's brother Muṣ'ab (q.v.) until A.H. 72, when we find it in the hands of the insurrectionist 'Atīya ibn al-Aswad (q.v.) for a few years. Thereafter the Umayyad general al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra (q.v.) restored it as an Umayyad mint (see p. cxxi).

(xvii) *Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair* (مصعب بن الزبير)

Brother of the famous rival Caliph 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair (q.v.), Muṣ'ab played a vigorous part in the unsuccessful effort made by the Zubairids to usurp the Caliphate. Any redeeming qualities he possessed as a warlike and magnanimous prince of the desert were obliterated by the terrible acts of vengeance he committed against his captured opponents. His brother appointed him governor of Baṣra in A.H. 66, but in the following year deposed him in favour of his own son Hamza. Muṣ'ab's activities were transferred to Kūfa, where along with al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra he successfully attacked the Shi'a usurper al-Mukhtār and reclaimed the Trākian provinces for his party. In A.H. 68 he was in charge of Baṣra for a second time. But until his death in battle in A.H. 71 or 72<sup>1</sup> against the forces of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, he must have been too busily engaged in warfare to occupy the city in person.

Muṣ'ab's mints are as follows:

Baṣra, year 66 ?  
Kirmān, years 69, 70 ?, 71, 72 ?  
Nihāvand, year 69  
Dasht-i-Maisān, year 67.

Apparently no coins were minted in his name at Basra during his second term as governor. His absence on military campaigns no doubt may account for this. [See, however, M. 48, p. 103.]

Muṣ'ab's name is associated in the historians with monetary reforms. He is also stated to have introduced gold coins.<sup>2</sup> There is no numismatic evidence for either of these statements.

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, Engl. tr. by Mrs. T. H. Weir, p. 198, and Lammens in the *Encycl. of Islam*, article *Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair*, prefer the latter date, though Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 845, has an imposing array of authorities in support of the earlier date. Muṣ'ab's coin, said to be dated 72 (see T. 17, p. 104), is in favour of Wellhausen's opinion.

<sup>2</sup> See Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, pp. 11, 12, 23, and 24.

(xviii) *Mukātil ibn Misma'* (مقاتل بن مسمع)

Tabarī<sup>1</sup> mentions the interesting fact that in A.H. 72 there were two sons of Misma' appointed as provincial governors in 'Irāk by Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh (q.v.), the new Umayyad governor of Baṣra. They were 'Āmir who was over Bishāpūr, and Muḳātil who was over Ardashīr-Khurra, while a grandson, Misma' ibn Mālik ibn Misma', was over Dārābjird and Fasā, all centres of administration in the province of Fārs. Of these three governors, coins of Mukātil only are known. As they bear the mint-signature of Bishāpūr (years 71 and 72) it would appear that Tabarī has transposed the governorship of the two brothers.

After his appointment Muḳātil was placed in charge of the army to act in conjunction with 'Abd al-'Aziz, Khālid's brother, on an expedition against the *Azārika*. Kaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a (q.v.) sent a body of 900 horsemen to meet the attack. The Umayyad forces were routed and among the slain was Muḳātil.<sup>2</sup>

On Mukātil's coins, p. 105, there is an unusual Kufic marginal legend on the obverse. Prof. Tritton has suggested to me that it may have some bearing on the governor's tribal connexions. He was a Bakrite (بكري).

(xix) *Al-Mughīra ibn al-Muhallab (ibn Abī Sufra)*  
(المغيرة بن المهلب بن أبي صفرة)

Son of the famous Umayyad general, al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra (q.v.), al-Mughīra was governor of Iṣṭakhr in A.H. 71.<sup>3</sup> The only coin of his so far known was struck in this year, but unfortunately the mint-signature (no. 64) is uncertain. He died in A.H. 82 much to the grief of his father whose favourite son he had been.

(xx) *Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh* (أمية بن عبد الله)

In order to restore order amongst the Arab tribes, who were engaged in bitter feudal disputes in the province of Khurāsān, the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān sent his kinsman Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, a member of the Prophet's own tribe of Kuraish, to act as governor of that important domain in A.H. 74.<sup>4</sup> Umaiya appointed his son 'Abdallāh to

<sup>1</sup> ii, p. 822.<sup>2</sup> *Ibn al-Athīr*, iv, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 841. He is referred to in a poem dealing with the defeat of the Khārijites, a line of which is quoted in Yākūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 560; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 877. The alternative date A.H. 72 is not substantiated by the coin evidence of the Khurāsānian mints.

govern Sistān, and lead what proved to be a futile campaign against the Turks (*Atrāk*). A generous and benign man, Umaiya had no military ability<sup>1</sup> and his own unsuccessful expedition across the Oxus in A.H. 77 led to his recall in the following year. Thereupon al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.), who succeeded him, appointed al-Muhallab ibn Abī Šufra (q.v.) over Khurāsān and 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra (q.v.) over Sistān.

Umaiya's mints and coin-dates are as follows :

Balkh, year 77 (A.H.)

Khurāsān ?, year 64 (Y.E.) = A.H. 76

„ year 74 (A.H.)

Merv al-Rūdh, year 64 (Y.E.) = A.H. 76

Sistān, year 73 (A.H.).

The most feasible explanation of the dating in the case of the Khurāsān coins is that the Yezdigird era was still in use alongside of the Muham-madan reckoning. Umaiya's coin of Sistān, which is dated one year previous to his appointment over Khurāsān,<sup>2</sup> may mean that he was in charge of the former province on behalf of his brother Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh (q.v.), then governor of Baṣra. We do know, as mentioned above, that Umaiya on his appointment to Khurāsān placed his son in charge of Sistān, so it is possible that he had just vacated the latter post.

(xxi) Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh (خالد بن عبد الله)

Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Khālid ibn Asid came into prominence first of all during the Zubairid usurpation of the Caliphate. In A.H. 70 during the absence of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair (q.v.) from Baṣra, Khālid started a rebellion in favour of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, but was forced to retire to Syria. With the triumph of the Umayyads in the following year, however, he obtained the governorship of Baṣra, after that im-portant command had been the subject of dispute between two other governors, Ḥumrān ibn Abān (q.v.) and his rival 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra (q.v.). In A.H. 73 Khālid was deposed in favour of the Caliph's brother Bishr ibn Marwān (q.v.), who had control of both Kūfa and Baṣra. After the latter's death in A.H. 74 Khālid was again nominated to Baṣra, but after two months the Caliph appointed the victorious general al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.) over all 'Irāk.<sup>3</sup> Apparently Khālid resented this and in the year A.H. 75 Hajjāj's representative was forced to expel him from Baṣra. There is a unique coin of this date struck at

<sup>1</sup> The satirists of the period declared that he was well named 'the little handmaiden' (Umaiya).

<sup>2</sup> See foot-note 4, above, p. lvii.

<sup>3</sup> Anon. Chron., ed. Ahlwardt, p. 266.

Baṣra, which may be considered a relic of Khālid's occupation of that city. His only other mint is Bishāpūr (years 71 and 74). The latter date also belongs to Khālid's second period of power in the 'Irākian province.

(xxii) *Bishr ibn Marwān* (بشر بن مروان)

When the Umayyad cause attained success over the Zubairids in A.H. 71 the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik made his young brother Bishr governor of Kūfa. It is interesting to note, in passing, that there accompanied him to 'Irāk as tax-collector Müsā ibn Nusair, afterwards famous for his exploits in North Africa and Spain, whose name figures on the Arab-Byzantine coins of that region.<sup>1</sup> In A.H. 73 when Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh (q.v.) was deposed from Baṣra, the position was allotted to Bishr in addition to that of Kūfa. In the latter city he left 'Amr ibn Ḥuraitha as his deputy and made his official residence in Baṣra. One of his first official duties was, on the receipt of a dispatch from the Caliph, to send troops from these two garrison cities to assist al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra (q.v.), who was still engaged in the suppression of the rebellious Khārijites. Being jealous of the distinguished general—possibly because the latter's commission to exterminate the heretics proceeded from the Caliph direct and not from himself as governor of these parts—Bishr only partially obeyed orders, and placed the issue of the campaign in jeopardy. His sudden death, however, in A.H. 74 prevented any further damage to the Umayyad party.

His coins are extremely rare, the sole mint and date so far recorded being al-Raiy, A.H. 74.<sup>2</sup>

(xxiii) *'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra* (عبد الله بن أبي بكرة)

After the downfall of the Zubairid cause in Baṣra in A.H. 71/72 we hear of 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra disputing the governorship of that city with Ḥumrān ibn Abān (q.v.). The Caliph settled the matter by investing Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh (q.v.) with the dignity, while 'Ubaidallāh, his friend, was made his deputy (*khālīfa*). When Khālid was deposed, no doubt 'Ubaidallāh also fell from grace. At all events he does not come into prominence again until A.H. 78. In that year Khālid's brother Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh (q.v.) was deposed from his governorship of Khurāsān and Sīstān and the great viceroy Hajjāj (q.v.) took over.

<sup>1</sup> These will be dealt with in a subsequent volume of this Catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> I have recently been informed by Bay Osman Arıdağ of Istanbul that a new coin of Bishr ibn Marwān has been acquired by the Museum there on which the mint is Baṣra and date 75. I await its publication with interest.

The latter sent 'Ubaidallāh to govern Sīstān. There his military expedition in that region against the ruler of Kābul, which turned out so disastrously, has a special chapter allotted to it in the historians. His death is recorded in the following year A.H. 79, which is the date on his unique coin (Th. 14, p. 110). He was succeeded by 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath (q.v.). The mint-signature on 'Ubaidallāh's coin is no. 52 c which I have interpreted as that of Sīstān.

(xxiv) *Humrān ibn Abān* (حمران بن ابان)

In the year A.H. 71/72 Basra was the scene of a great dispute between Ḥumrān<sup>1</sup> and 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra (q.v.) for the governorship of the city. The Caliph settled the matter by appointing Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh (q.v.). Ḥumrān was transferred to Mecca. He died in A.H. 75. His rare coins are all struck at Ardashīr-Khurra in the year 72.

(xxv) *'Atīya ibn al-Aswad* (عثیة بن الأسود)

We first hear of 'Atīya ibn al-Aswad al-Hanafī about A.H. 69 when he was sent to 'Umān by Najda ibn 'Āmir, the leader of the Khārijites in Yemāma. The place was then in the possession of a chief called 'Abbād ibn 'Abdallāh, whose two sons, Sa'id and Sulaimān, were exacting tribute from passing ships and from the neighbouring lands. When 'Atīya arrived there was a fight in which 'Abbād was killed, and 'Atīya became ruler of that region. After some months he went off, leaving behind as his representative a man named Abu'l-Kāsim. The people of 'Umān, headed by Sa'id and Sulaimān, rose against the latter and slew him. 'Atīya was thereupon forced to return, but failed to regain control of the place. In the meantime a difference of opinion between him and Najda<sup>2</sup> led to his severing all connexion with the Khārijite party in Arabia, and taking ship he sailed for Irān, finally reaching Kirmān. There as a usurping governor, we are told 'he minted dirhams which he named the 'Atāwiya (dirhams).<sup>3</sup> 'Atīya's dirhams are all struck for Kirmān and are dated 72, 73 (or 76), 74, and 75 (A.H.).

In A.D. 74/75 when the great Umaiyyad offensive was directed against the Khārijites by al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra (q.v.) 'Atīya was defeated

<sup>1</sup> Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i, pp. 269, 411, gives the pronunciation Ḥamrān, but the Pehlevi legend on the coins shows clearly that the correct form is Ḥumrān.

<sup>2</sup> This was before A.H. 72 when Najda was killed by Abū Fudaik, who took possession of Bahrain (*Tabarī*, ii, p. 829).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibn al-Athīr*, iv, p. 167: وَضُرِبَ لَهَا دِرَاهْمٌ سَعَادًا الْمَطْوِيَّةُ.

and forced to flee first of all to Sistān and then to Sind. Finally at Kandabil, the modern Gandāw in Baluchistan, he was killed.<sup>1</sup>

(xxvi) *al-Kaṭarī (ibn al-Fujā'a)* (القطري بن الفجاءة)

Kaṭarī, the rebel leader of the Azrakites, who caused so much unrest in the Irānian provinces during the Umayyad Caliphate, gained renown by his spirited revolt between the years A.H. 69–79. He assumed the title of 'Commander of the Faithful', which appears on his coins in its Pehlevi form, as well as his other designation '*Abdallāh*', 'Servant of Allah'. At the head of his wild fanatical followers this *soi-disant* Caliph swept from the fastnesses of Kirmān across into the rich territory of 'Irāk, and even menaced the seat of government at Baṣra. The greatest obstacle to his success, however, was the Umayyad general, al-Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra (q.v.), who at the bidding of al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf routed him. Kaṭarī was forced to seek asylum in Ṭabaristān. While there, he is said to have been killed by the *Ispahbad* or native prince of that land in a duel.<sup>2</sup> According to another version he fell in battle against Sufyān ibn al-Abrahān. His head was sent to the Caliph at Damascus. He is said to have perished about A.H. 79. Besides his warlike qualities he was credited with a certain talent as a poet.

Apart from a unique dirham minted at Zaranj, capital of Sistān Province, all his coins were struck at mints in the province of Fārs. Most of them are also dated (A.H.) 75, a year when he was in the heyday of his supremacy. The numismatic data can be summarized as follows:

- Ardashir-Khurra*, year 75 (A.H.)
- Bishāpūr*, years 69 and 75 (A.H.)
- Dārābjird*, year 75 (A.H.)
- Zaranj, year 75 (A.H.).

(xxvii) *Al-Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra* (المهلب بن أبي صفرة)

Although al-Muhallab was one of the outstanding generals of the cause of the Umayyads, and one whose campaigns materially established their supremacy, he was for a time allied with the anti-Caliph '*Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair* (q.v.). In those days he waged war against the *Shī'a* rebel *al-Mukhtār* as well as against the *Khārijite* agitators in the provinces, and at the same time kept the Syrian supporters of the Umayyad

<sup>1</sup> *Ibn al-Athīr*, iv. 169; *Anon. Chron.*, p. 143. The dirhams of '*Ātiya*' were first identified by the writer in *Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 294–9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibn Isfandiyār*, *Ta'rīkh-i-Ṭabaristān*, tr. E. G. Browne, p. 104.

Caliph at bay at Mosul. When his superior Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair (q.v.) was killed in A.H. 72, Muhallab had already withdrawn from the Zubairids and had sworn allegiance to the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān.

Under Umayyad rule he continued his struggle against the various parties of religious sectarians, who still maintained their hold on many of the provinces. The Khārijite rebel 'Aṭīya ibn al-Aswad (q.v.) was driven out of Kirmān c. A.H. 75/76. Muhallab next directed his attention to the suppression of the Azrakīte claimant to the Caliphate, Kaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a (q.v.). As a reward for these successful punitive expeditions he received the governorship of Khurāsān in A.H. 78 under Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.). On his way back from an expedition against Bukhārā he died in A.H. 82. Grief at the death of his son al-Mughīra (q.v.) is said to have contributed to his sudden end. Another son, Yazīd, succeeded him as governor of Khurāsān.

Muhallab's coins have an interesting connexion with those of his adversaries Kaṭarī and 'Aṭīya, whom he dispossessed, as can be readily seen from the following comparison of their respective mint activities:

<i>Province</i>	<i>Mints</i>	<i>Kaṭarī</i>	<i>'Aṭīya</i>	<i>Muhallab</i>
Fārs	Ardashīr- <u>Khurra</u>	75	—	76
"	Bishāpūr	69, 75	—	75, 76
"	Dārābjird	75	—	76
"	Iṣtakhr	—	—	78, 79
?	Uncertain	—	—	76
Sistān	Zaranj	75	—	75, 76
Kirmān	Kirmān	—	72-75 (or 76)	76, 77, 78

Although we have so far no coins of Kaṭarī struck at Iṣtakhr it is not at all unlikely that this was also one of his mints, since Muhallab issued dirhams from it.<sup>1</sup> At all events the other mints in the same province of Fārs, namely Ardashīr-Khurra, Bishāpūr, and Dārābjird, passed out of the hands of Kaṭarī into Muhallab's control in the year A.H. 75/76. The coin of Muhallab in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (B. 37, p. 115), which was struck at Iṣtakhr and has been conjecturally dated 69 by Nützel, is almost certainly to be dated 79, since Muhallab was not minting as early as 69 in the province of Fārs, and we know that in 69 his ally, a Zubairid governor, 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh (q.v.), was actually in a position to issue coins at that mint and did so.

<sup>1</sup> See Mint Notes, p. cxxx, for its previous record as a mint under the Umayyads and Zubairids in turn.

Moreover, the year 79 fits in with other known coins of Muhallab from the same source. As for the uncertain mint TART (no. 54), as I have pointed out in the Mint Notes (p. cxxx), it is almost certainly a variety of the mint-signature of Ardashir-Khurra.

In the case of 'Atīya, whose mint issues were apparently confined to the province of Kirmān, the transition from his domination to that of Muhallab is just as clearly demonstrated by the coin data as in the case of Ḳatārī in Fārs and Sīstān (capital Zaranj).

Incidentally there are no Arab-Sassanian coins so far known struck by Muhallab for any of the provincial mints of Khurāsān, to which he was appointed in A.H. 78. This is not altogether surprising, since the new Reformed Currency was already in use in that outpost of the Caliphate. The last governor in fact whose name appears on Umayyad coins of Khurāsān is Muhallab's immediate predecessor, Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh (q.v.).

(xxviii) *'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad (ibn al-Ash'ath)*

(عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث)

After Ḥajjāj's governor in Sīstān Province, 'Ubaiddallāh ibn Abī Bakra (q.v.), had ignominiously failed in his expedition against the native ruler of Kābul, a more energetic general was required. 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad was therefore appointed in A.H. 80 as governor of Sīstān. He is usually referred to as Ibn al-Ash'ath after his grandfather. Ibn al-Ash'ath was supported by a new contingent of troops recruited largely from natives of Kūfa and Baṣra. This formidable host was nicknamed 'the Army of the Peacocks'.<sup>1</sup> Although Ibn al-Ash'ath began making steady progress in his campaign of subjugation, Ḥajjāj, with his characteristic impatience, urged him to accelerate his advance. Friction between the two ensued, and Ibn al-Ash'ath, supported by his 'Irākian levies, who naturally wished for a speedy return to their homeland and moreover detested Ḥajjāj, turned in revolt. Consolidating his rear by establishing his deputies in the key-cities of Sīstān, and making a pact with his old enemy Zunbil, lord of Kābul, Ibn al-Ash'ath marched through the province of Fārs, heading for 'Irāk. There his followers, elated at their successes, renounced the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and paid homage to Ibn al-Ash'ath. Ḥajjāj, who endeavoured with his Syrian soldiers to stem the tide, was

<sup>1</sup> *Tabarī*, ii. 1047: جيش الطواوين.

thrust back. Başra itself, and later Kūfa, fell into the hands of the conqueror for a time. But soon, in A.H. 82, after a stubborn resistance, the fortune of war forsook Ibn al-Ash'ath and he was forced to retreat to Sistān. After many vicissitudes, Ḥajjāj managed to bribe the lord of Kābul to get rid of him in A.H. 84 or 85.

Ibn al-Ash'ath's coins are exceedingly rare. Only two mints of his are so far known to me, both in the captured province of Fārs, namely, Bishāpūr (year 82) and Dārābjird (year 70). The latter date can only be satisfactorily explained by interpreting it in terms of the Yezdigird era, i.e. A.H. 81/82. The history of the mint of Dārābjird has numerous instances of the continued employment of this era.

### (xxix) *al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf* (الحجاج بن يوسف)

There is no more prominent personality in the annals of the Umayyad Caliphate than that of Ḥajjāj. After he had completely stamped out the revolt of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair (q.v.) in Arabia, his career as the strong man of the Umayyad party rapidly progressed. In A.H. 75 the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik appointed him governor of both Kūfa and Başra. When the tidings reached the great Umayyad general al-Muhallab ibn Abī Šufra (q.v.) he is said to have acclaimed it with the words: 'A real he-man is now governor'.<sup>1</sup> As viceroy of the Eastern Command Ḥajjāj had to employ stern measures to cope with the numerous dissenting forces and refractory parties that threatened at all times to disrupt the Caliphate. Perhaps the most formidable set-back he received was when his *quondam* lieutenant, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath (q.v.), almost overthrew him. But Ḥajjāj only emerged in the end stronger than ever. When he died in A.H. 95 of cancer he was only 52. His accomplishments had been historic. Not only did he consolidate the Umayyad power, but his statesmanship left a deep impress on his age. One of the many reforms of which he was instigator was the use of Arabic in the 'Irākian State Chancellory in place of Pehlevi,<sup>2</sup> an innovation which is exemplified in his Arab-Sassanian coins (cf. Catalogue, Th. 16 and no. 229). But his chief numismatic interest lies in his close association with the reform of the monetary system under the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik c. A.H. 75. The part he played in this is recounted elsewhere (below, p. cxlvii f.).

<sup>1</sup> *Anon. Chron.*, p. 277: لَقِدْ أَتَى الْقَوْمَ وَالِّي ذَكَرْ<sup>ُ</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Kalkashandi*, *Šubḥ al-As̄hā*, i, p. 423: اول من نقل ديوان العراق من الفارسية الى العربية.

It is surprising that Başra is not represented amongst the few mints of Hajjāj, which are as follows :

Ardashīr-Khurra, years 77 ?, 78, and 79 ? (A.H.)  
 Bishāpūr, years 76, 77, 78, 79, 80 ?, 81, and 83 (A.H.).  
 Uncertain mint (no. 54),<sup>1</sup> years 78 and 80 (A.H.).

With Hajjāj the Arab-Sassanian coins of the Umayyad governors come to an end.<sup>2</sup>

## II. *The Arab-Ephthalite Coins*

This small group of coins is really a sub-division of the preceding one. But their rather special character and their enigmatic nature mark them out for separate treatment. I have applied the term Arab-Ephthalite to these coins as a convenient label. Besides having legends in Arabic and Pehlevi these remarkable pieces also contain legends in a script of a type which is similar to that on the coins issued by the White Huns or Ephthalites. This Ephthalite script has not so far been satisfactorily deciphered, though several attempts have been made by orientalists. Among the most recent monographs bearing on the subject the following may be consulted :

- (a) Ernst Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, Calcutta, 1930, which demonstrates the evolution (or rather devolution) from ancient Greek of certain cognate forms of script.
- (b) Édouard Specht, 'Du Déchiffrement des monnaies Indo-Ephthalites' (in *Journal Asiatique*, 1901, pp. 487-523), whose conclusions can be ignored.<sup>3</sup>
- (c) Jacques de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique orientale*, vol. i, pp. 447-8 (edited by K. J. Basmadjian), Paris, 1936, follows Specht in his attempted decipherment of the alphabet, but casts no light on the subject.
- (d) Heinrich F. J. Junker, *Die Hephthalitischen Münzinschriften* (*Sonderausgabe aus den Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1930, xxvii), proposes new interpretations which are very debatable. Apparently, though he does not call it such, the only specimen of an Arab-Ephthalite coin known to him was the one published by Vincent A. Smith (*Catalogue of the Indian Museum*, i, 1906, p. 230) and quite wrongly attributed by the latter to Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh. Junker discusses this particular coin on pp.

<sup>1</sup> This is almost certainly a variant signature of the mint of Ardashir-Khurra.

<sup>2</sup> For the uncertain governors (pp. 121 ff.) reference may be made to the corresponding Notes at the end of the Catalogue, pp. 200 f.

<sup>3</sup> This is also the opinion of Herzfeld in a recent publication (*Arch. Mitt.*, 1938, p. 153, f.n. 1).

17-18 of his article. The Ephthalite legend in the field on the obverse he reads as ΖΟΛΟΟΟ (i.e. reading from l. to r.). Alternatively, he adds that the penultimate letter may be a P, hence ΖΟΛΟΡΟ or ΖΟΥΟΠΟ. He says that the letter read as Z is not clear (he had not, of course, seen the perfectly clear examples of the British Museum) and might be merely a *Querstrich*, in which case the legend might be read (from r. to l.) as ΟΡΟΗΟ. The second line he reads (from l. to r.) as ΤΩΖΟΙΟΝΟ or ΤΩΖΟΓΟΝΟ (or ΤΩΖΙΙΟΝΟ). i.e. Tāzayānu = Tāziyān. He next considers the marginal legends. The symbol  he does not endeavour to explain. He correctly notes the Arabic *basmala* in the second quarter, and detects Vincent Smith's misreading of the Pehlevi legend in the third quarter.

He next considers Vincent Smith's interpretation of the reverse. The Pehlevi legend left of the fire-altar and attendants he accepts as ARBA, i.e. four; the legend on the right, which Smith read as Khurāsān, he emphatically, and in my opinion correctly, dismisses, although he does not suggest any possible alternative reading. An acquaintance with Arab-Sassanian coins, however, would have revealed to him the clue. It is none other than the Pehlevi date HSHTSHST, i.e. 68, somewhat truncated at the end. If this is so, it is natural to suppose that the other word on the left should be a Pehlevi mint-signature.<sup>1</sup> This, or a similar mint-signature, is found on the Arab-Sassanian dirhams of the two governors 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim and Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, who, we know, minted in Khurāsān. A comparison with the Pehlevi mint-name (no. 26) HURASAN, i.e. Khurāsān, indicates how closely the problematic word resembles the beginnings of the name of that province. It is not at all fanciful to interpret it as such, i.e. HURA. We may conclude that this particular Arab-Ephthalite coin was issued in Khurāsān in the year A.H. 68.<sup>2</sup> The exceptional coin (Catalogue, no. 254, p. 129) struck at Merv in the year A.H. 69 amply confirms this interpretation.

What follows? From our knowledge of the Arab-Sassanian coins we know that about the years A.H. 68 and 69 there were two governors minting in the five great mints of the Khurāsān Province (viz. Abra-shahr, Balkh, Herāt, Merv, and Merv al-Rūdh) and they were (a) 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, who challenged Umaiyad authority, and (b) Salm

<sup>1</sup> That the usual positions of date and mint legends should be transposed is very uncommon but not unknown (e.g. Th. 18, p. 124).

<sup>2</sup> De Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 455, in considering a similar specimen in the Collection of Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe, correctly notes that the legend on the right of the reverse is a date, which he reads as 80 or 68, and that the legend on the left is a mint, which he very hesitantly expounds as Suba (?). His view that these coins were associated with Sind leads him, however, to the absurd conclusion that they were posterior to the year A.H. 93, and that the puzzling name-legends might be that of Hajjaj ibn Yūsuf.

ibn Ziyād, who supported it. It is quite natural to imagine, therefore, that the name of one or other of these two governors should figure on the obverse after the traditional manner. If we take the Ephthalite legend on coins nos. 246–54 it seems to me that the name of the former has the better chance of being elucidated from the tangle. I suggest the following for the first line: abdāz (reading from r. to l.) = ABDLA Z?

The only letters that seem to be probable are the following, which are collated with some equivalents which I have selected from Herzfeld's alphabetic list (*op. cit.*, Table III) and Junker (*op. cit.*, p. 24).

Greek	Herzfeld	Junker	Arab-Ephthalite coins	Value
α	ο	ο	ο	A
β	β	β	β	B
δ	δ	δ	δ	D
λ	λ	λ	λ	L
ζ	ζ	ζ	—	Z

The last letter (z?) of this first line, I can only suggest, is a postposition having some significance in the Ephthalite language. At any rate it is of interest to observe that this first line is found, together with a symbol similar to the one mentioned above, embodied in certain countermarks (nos. 28, 34, and 40) on the regular Arab-Sassanian dirhams. These have been noted on coins of Salm ibn Ziyād and on one of the Arab-Ephthalite coins ascribed to 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim (see Countermarks, p. cxliv). It is noteworthy that where these particular countermarks occur they are always on coins that must have circulated in Khurāsān and neighbourhood and *never* before or after the time of 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim. Moreover, the present group of Arab-Ephthalite coins begin in the year A.H. 63, which was the year of 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim's first recorded minting in Khurāsān of coins of Arab-Sassanian type.

It seems to follow that the first-line legend, therefore, must be complete in itself and cannot be interpreted, as I was at first inclined to do, on the analogy of the Pehlevi name-legends on the coins of the preceding series, as 'Abdallāh son of —, leaving the second line to contain the patronymic. The last line, in this case, is probably a title. But whatever it is, it is interesting to observe that it is the same—apart from a slight difference in epigraphy—as the marginal legend on a coin of Sassanian type with the name of Khusrau II of uncertain mint and date which Thomas read as Arabic (see Catalogue T. 2, p. 14).

To return to the reverse legends. Besides those we have already considered above there remain the marginal legends, partly in Pehlevi and partly in Ephthalite. Junker correctly reads the Pehlevi legend in the second quarter, but wrongly interprets the Pehlevi GDH in the third quarter as ΣΡΙ. Although he makes an effort to transliterate the puzzling Ephthalite legends in the first and fourth quarters he has to admit defeat, and the present writer must confess himself similarly baffled.

The same difficulty attaches to the unique Arab-Ephthalite coin in the American Numismatic Collection, New York, described on p. 127. I hazard the guess that it may be an issue of the Arab governor Rabi' ibn Ziyād for the following reasons :

(a) the date in Pehlevi is NVSH, i.e. 39, which is probably to be regarded as a date in terms of the Yezdigird era, i.e. = A.H. 50/51.

(b) Rabi' was active about this time in Khurāsān, the region where the other Arab-Ephthalite coins were almost certainly struck. In fact the city of Balkh in this year capitulated to him.

(c) Professor Gibb, whose monograph *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* throws considerable light on the history of Khurāsān as well as of the Transoxine regions at this period, has the following epitome of events (p. 16) : 'Rabi' b. Ziyād al-Hārithī, the first conqueror of Sijistān, after reducing Balkh, pursued the Ephthalite army into Quhistān and dispersed it with great slaughter.'

Unfortunately the Ephthalite legends both on the obverse and reverse have so far refused to give up their secret. The only suggestion I can make is that the second line of the name-legends does appear to contain a short name like ZIAD, which would fit the above hypothesis, though this involves reading the legend from left to right, contrary to the way proposed on the coins ascribed to 'Abdallāh. It might either be the name of Ziyād, the father of Rabi', or else of Ziyād ibn Abī Šufyān, who was then governor of Baṣra and its dependencies. Rabi', as Tabarī says, was Ziyād's governor for Khurāsān.<sup>1</sup>

The Arabs called the rather mixed race of Ephthalites by the name of *Haital*, ميل (plural, *Hayātīla*, هياتلا), a name which like the Greek 'Εφθαλίται appears in the early Chinese records as *Yen-tai-i-li-to*, or in short, *Yi-Ta*. According to Professor Minns<sup>3</sup> the older name was *Hua* (in Sanskrit *Hūṇa*) which seems to be paralleled by the *Chuni*, *Phuni*,

<sup>1</sup> Tabarī (ii, p. 156) in recording this campaign calls the latter 'Turks' (*Atrāk*).

<sup>2</sup> ii, p. 161 : ده طالب زیاد علی خراسان.

<sup>3</sup> *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 122.

*Xoūvōi*, *Φοῦνοι*, and *Oῦννοι* of the Western chroniclers. These tribesmen, it is thought, may have been related to the Hiung-Nu hordes that, we are told, overran Central Asia in the second century B.C. At all events Ephthalites were in full force in the fifth century A.D. in the Cisoxine lands, since they captured the province of Khurāsān and exacted tribute from the dispossessed Sassanians.<sup>1</sup> Again, later on in the next century, we find them in the reign of Hormuzd IV (A.D. 579–590), penetrating by force of arms as far as Badhḡīs and Herāt, according to Tabarī;<sup>2</sup> and, as Marquart (*ibid.*, p. 65) adds, ‘without doubt with the sanction of the Khākān of the Turks’. For years the internecine struggle lasted between the Sassanian monarchy and these nomadic peoples and the vast conglomeration of Turkish tribes. The encroachment of the Arab forces later on was encouraged, no doubt, by this very discord and lack of cohesion amongst the racial elements involved. The Ephthalite Principality of Herāt and Badhḡīs actually offered little or no resistance to the Arab advance in A.H. 31. But it was not always so. Various tribal revolts of the ‘Turks’ (أَتْرَاك)—as the Ephthalite tribes are sometimes called in the Arab historians—broke out in the ensuing years. As Ephthalites they finally pass from the annals with the downfall of their leader the Tarkhān Nēzak (طَرْخَان نِزَاق), who rose in rebellion in A.H. 90 and was killed by the great Arab general and viceroy of Khurāsān, Kutaiba ibn Muslim, who, as we shall see later, played so conspicuous a part in the subjugation of Bukhārā. That event, however, takes us beyond the period covered by the present coins.

### III. *The 'Abbāsid Governors in Tabaristān*

For over a century after the great Sassanian Empire succumbed to the advancing armies of Islam the province of Tabaristān,<sup>3</sup> protected on the south by the lofty Elburz mountain range, still stubbornly managed to maintain its independence. After the death of Yezdigird III, the last monarch of the house of Sāsān, a certain Gil Gāubāra, son of Gilānshāh, contrived by his warlike abilities to found a dynasty

<sup>1</sup> See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 62 f.

<sup>2</sup> i, p. 991.

<sup>3</sup> The name applied to this territory in our modern gazetteers is, of course, Mazanderan (Arabic, Māzandarān). The province lies in the north of Īrān to the south-east of the Caspian Sea. The old historic name is, however, retained in this Catalogue for convenience since it is the one which occurs without exception on all the coins of these governors with whom we are dealing.

(c. A.D. 686) in the highlands of Tabaristān, which lasted for four generations until, under the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mansūr, the country ceased to be autonomous. During the latter part of this period (from A.D. 711–761) these Zoroastrian princes or *Ispahbads*,<sup>1</sup> as they designated themselves, struck silver coins after the style of the Sassanian drachms of Khusrau II in much the same way as the Umayyad governors in the Irānian provinces had done previously. The distinguishing feature of the Tabaristān coins, however, was the fact that they were of much smaller module, being actually hemidrachms or half dirhams. As on the Sassanian coins their legends were written in Pehlevi, and their dates were reckoned in terms of a new era starting from the 11th June 652 (= A.H. 31), the beginning of the solar year following the death of Yezdigird III. This era is referred to in this Catalogue as the Post-Yezdigird era (P.-Y.E.).<sup>2</sup>

The coins issued in Tabaristān after the 'Abbāsid governors had displaced the last Ispahbad, Khurshid,<sup>3</sup> in A.H. 144 (A.D. 761) carried on the traditional characteristics of this provincial coinage system, namely, size, conventional portraiture, mint-name, use of the Post-Yezdigird era, and, to begin with, the exclusive use of Pehlevi legends, which changed finally, soon after the Arab governors inserted their own names on the coins, to a combination of Pehlevi and Kufic (i.e. monumental Arabic) script. The coinage was in silver; a possible use of copper may be admitted, but gold coins of this type are unknown.<sup>4</sup>

As our knowledge of the history of Tabaristān in these times is extremely scanty it will be readily seen that these carefully dated coins with governors' names furnish us with contemporary evidence that is of first-class value. The main extant historical account is preserved in Ibn Isfandiyār's *Ta'rikh-i-Tabaristān*<sup>5</sup> compiled about A.H. 613 (A.D. 1216), though it is based on older works now lost. Ibn Isfandiyār's facts were more or less repeated with slight additions and alterations—in the characteristic manner of oriental historians—by Zahir al-Dīn al-Mar'ashī about 260 years afterwards, and later still by Khwandamīr in his *Habib al-Siyar*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic form of the title is *Iṣbahbādh* اِصْبَادٌ.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xxvii, for this and other eras used on Arab-Sassanian coins.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, but erroneously, called Khurshid II on account of an unfortunate, but quite pardonable, numismatic error on the part of Mordtmann, first detected by Prof. Vasmer (*Encycl. of Islam*, art. *Māzandarān*, p. 429).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 161 for reputed gold and copper coinage.

<sup>5</sup> Abridged English translation by E. G. Browne in the *Gibb Memorial Series*, vol. ii.

<sup>6</sup> B. Dorn, *Sehir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan, Rujan und Masanderan*; and *Die*

Several attempts were made by the Muḥammadans to penetrate into Tabaristān in an endeavour to conquer the Ispahbads, or hereditary princes of that region, before the final subjugation of the territory under the 'Abbāsids. The first advance is said to have been made under the early successors of the Prophet. About A.H. 18 or 22 (A.D. 639 or 642/3), under the Caliph Omar ('Umar), Suwaid ibn 'Amr ibn Mukarran, and later (c. A.H. 29/30 = A.D. 650/1), in the Caliphate of Othman ('Uthmān), Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, governor of Kūfa, both made attacks but with little success. Next, under the Umayyad Caliphs, other abortive attempts at invasion were planned. Maṣṭala ibn Hubaira al-Shaibānī during Mu'āwiya's reign led an army (c. A.H. 42 = A.D. 662 or A.H. 54 = A.D. 673) into the fastnesses of the country only to perish with the greater number of his mercenaries. In A.H. 77 (A.D. 696) Ishāk ibn Muhammad ibn al-Ash'ath commanded troops in Tabaristān. About the same period Sufyān ibn al-Abrahān was sent by Hajjāj, the Umayyad viceroy of the East, to suppress Kaṭārī (q.v.), the rival Caliph and leader of the Khārijites.

According to one account<sup>1</sup> Sufyān defeated and slew Kaṭārī and remained with his army in Tabaristān until recalled in A.H. 82 = A.D. 701; another version<sup>2</sup> has it that the Ispahbad Farkhān (or Farrukhān) made a pact with Sufyān to rid him of Kaṭārī in return for freedom from molestation by the Arabs. In the resulting combat Kaṭārī was slain by the Ispahbad (c. A.H. 79 = A.D. 698).

That the native ruler of Tabaristān considered it politic to keep on friendly terms with the Umayyads is confirmed not only by this last tradition but also by that given by Tabārī<sup>3</sup> and Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>4</sup> to the effect that he surrendered 'Umar ibn Abī'l-Salt, who had sought refuge in his domain, out of fear of incurring the hostility of Hajjāj (A.H. 83 = A.D. 702). In A.H. 98 (A.D. 716) a determined effort was made by Yazid ibn al-Muhallab to gain possession of Tabaristān, but with indifferent success.

In the reign of the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān II (A.H. 127–132 =

*Geschichte Tabaristan's und der Serbedare nach Chondemir*, St. Petersburg, 1850. The latter is an extract from the Persian Chronicle with a German translation. Fortunately, the historical data relating to Tabaristān contained in these historians, as well as incidental references and details in Tabārī, Ibn al-Athīr, Balādhuri, and Ya'kūbī, have recently been collected by H. L. Rabino in his monographs. (See f.n. p. lxxv.)

<sup>1</sup> Tabārī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1021.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Isfandiyār, ed. Browne, p. 104. See also Biographical Notes, above, p. lxi. Unvala (*Numismatique du Tabaristān*, p. 31) has actually made Kaṭārī a general of 'Abd al-Malik.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 1119.

<sup>4</sup> iv. 395–6.

A.D. 744–50), when revolt was the order of the day, the upheaval in the Caliphate had reverberations in Ṭabaristān. Abū Muslim, the great protagonist of the 'Abbāsid party, in the course of his victorious campaign in the East managed to obtain the nominal allegiance of the Ispahbad in A.H. 131 (A.D. 748). But Ṭabaristān was still independent. It was not, in fact, until the time of the second 'Abbāsid Caliph, Mānsūr, that the Arab governors obtained firm control of the province, and the last Ispahbad, Khurshīd, was ousted from his patrimony.

The approximate date when this conquest of Ṭabaristān by the 'Abbāsids became a *fait accompli* was the year A.H. 141 = A.D. 758. The defeated Ispahbad, Khurshīd, however, did not die until A.H. 144 = A.D. 761. And, in fact, we actually have coins bearing his name dated as late as P.-Y.E. 114<sup>1</sup> (= A.H. 148 = A.D. 765). These posthumous coins were almost certainly issued by the 'Abbāsid governors. It is noticeable that in the year P.-Y.E. 110 = A.H. 144 there is a marked change in the bust of the Ispahbad depicted on these coins—it is broader. Although they bear no Arabic legend or name, or any definite indication that they were official 'Abbāsid issues, these coins have been included in this Catalogue as Muḥammadan mainly on the grounds of chronology.<sup>2</sup> Be that as it may, the earliest known Ṭabaristān coin of Arab-Sassanian type that we can with certainty regard as having been struck by the Muḥammadan invaders is dated P.-Y.E. 116 (= A.H. 150 = A.D. 767). In this case the name of the deceased Khurshīd has been replaced by that of the 'Abbāsid provincial governor, a practice which was to continue in the case of succeeding governors for a quarter of a century, as can be seen from the list on pp. lxxiv–lxxv.

In addition to the numismatic evidence given in the list one must reckon the following:

(a) The posthumous coins of Khurshīd with dates ranging from P.-Y.E. 110–114 = A.H. 144–148 = A.D. 761–765. These partly fill the gap before the coins with the name of Khālid ibn Barmak.

(b) The AFZUT or so-called 'anonymous' coins with dates from P.-Y.E. 129–143 = A.H. 164–178 = A.D. 780–794. This group contains isolated examples with the name of the governors Jarīr<sup>3</sup> and Ma'add

<sup>1</sup> See Catalogue, p. 203, for a discussion of the coins attributed to the year 115.

<sup>2</sup> If one were to exclude these posthumous Khurshīd coins because of the absence of Arabic legends one would for the same reason have to do likewise with the majority of the AFZUT coins which occur later in the same series (see Catalogue, pp. 153 ff.). Unvala in fact has done so—an opinion which will be considered later.

<sup>3</sup> Unvala's suggestion (*Numismatique du Ṭabaristān*, p. 12, § 5) that the name of Jarīr was a *contremarque* (*sic*) added to the coins when they circulated in the part of Ṭabaristān

written in the margin in the years 135 and 138 respectively. A section of the AFZUT coins fills the gap between Yahyā ibn Dā'ūd al-Harashī and Jarir. An attempt has been made<sup>1</sup> to attribute these AFZUT coins to the Zoroastrian insurgents who rose against the 'Abbāsid government in support of a native prince, Windād Hormuzd. This theory seems to me to be most improbable for the following reasons:

- (i) Some of these AFZUT coins bear the names of Arab governors in their margins, as well as Arabic expressions (such as حِلْقَة) and abbreviations (such as ح.). If these coins were the product of a national movement they would be most unlikely to have legends written in the language of the hated oppressors.
- (ii) If they were struck for Windād Hormuzd it is very surprising that they do not bear his name, though some of them have the names of Arab governors in Arabic.
- (iii) They ceased being struck about the same time as the last coins of Tabaristān with the names of 'Abbāsid governors, and some time before the final submission of Windād Hormuzd to the 'Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashid.
- (iv) The AFZUT type of coin can be proved to have been used by the Arab conquerors as in the case of the coin of al-Fadl ibn Sahl (see below) as well as previously under the Umayyads (see Catalogue, p. 124 f.). So why not in the present case?

(c) The isolated coin with AFZUT obverse and with the name of al-Fadl ibn Sahl. This coin is dated P.-Y.E. 161 = A.H. 197 = A.D. 812. It shows the survival at a late date of the Tabaristān type, particularly the peculiar obverse of the coins of Sulaimān. But as the regular series of the 'Abbāsid coins of Tabaristān ceases with the year P.-Y.E. 143 (A.H. 178) it has not been considered necessary to extend the above list of governors to include al-Fadl.

The administration of Tabaristān under the 'Abbāsid Caliphs of Baghdad (*Madinat-al-Salām*) was entrusted to a series of military governors, who resided in the principal towns of the country such as Āmul or Sāri, or at Kajū, capital of al-Rūyān, a district which had for the first time under 'Umar ibn al-'Alā been attached to the province of Tabaristān. These governors or their deputies, or perhaps at times the leader of a military expedition, seem to have struck coins independently of one another in the same years with their own names

then under the control of the Arabs is ridiculous. The name is not a countermark but part of the original impression.

<sup>1</sup> Unvala, *op. cit.*, p. 11, § 27; p. 13, § 9; p. 33, § 19 f.

**LIST OF THE 'ABBĀSID GOVERNORS IN TABARISTĀN  
(A.H. 141-178 = A.D. 758-794)**

The following list, compiled from the extant literary and numismatic sources, covers only the period of the coins described in this section of the Catalogue.<sup>1</sup> The coin evidence is based on the conclusions reached by the writer. One or two dates which have not been verified at first hand, or are questionable, but which may possibly be correct, have been added within round brackets.

<i>Literary Evidence</i>	<i>Coin Evidence (Dates according to Post-Yezdigird Era)</i>	<i>Approximate Dates</i>	
		A.H.	A.D.
Abu'l- <u>Khasib</u>		c. 141-	758-
Abū <u>Khuzaima</u>			
<u>Khāzim</u>			
Abu'l-'Abbās Faḍl			
Rauḥ ibn Ḥātim <sup>2</sup>			
Khālid ibn Barmak	HALIT, (116), 117, 118, 119, (120)	c. 147- 150/1-154/5	764- 767/8-770/1
'Umar ibn al-'Alā (1st time)	{ AUMR, 120, 121, 123, 124, (125) AUMR BN AALA } 125 'Umar ibn al-'Alā } 'Umar, (120), 121, 122, 123, 124, 125	155-159/60	771-775/6
Sa'id ibn Da'laj	{ Sa'id, 125, 126, 127, (128) Sa'id ibn Da'laj, 126	160-162/3	776-778/9
'Umar ibn al-'Alā (2nd time)	'Umar, 127, 128, 129	162-164	778-780
Yahyā ibn Mikhnāk	Yahyā, 129, 130	164-165	780-781
'Abd al-Hamid Maqrūb			
Yahyā ibn Dā'ūd al- Harashi	Harashi, 131	166-167	782
'Umar ibn al-'Alā (3rd time)		167	783
Taim ibn Sinān			
Yazid ibn Maziyad			
Hasan ibn Kaḥṭaba }			
Sāliḥ ibn Saīh			
Sulaimān	Sulaimān, 136, 137, 138	171-173	787-789
	Jarir, 135, 136, 137	170-172	786-788
	Ma'add, 138	173	789

<i>Literary Evidence</i>	<i>Coin Evidence (Dates according to Post-Yezdigird Era)</i>	<i>Approximate Dates</i>	
		A.H.	A.D.
Hānī ibn Hānī	Hānī, 137, 138 Mukātil, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141	172–173 172–176	787–789 788–792
'Abdallāh ibn Kahtaba	'Abdallāh, 139, 140, 141 Kudaid, 140 Ibrāhim, 140, 141	174–176 175 175–176	790–792 791 791–792
'Uthmān ibn Nahik Sa'id ibn Muslim ibn Kutaiba			
'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz			
Muthannā ibn al- Hajjāj		c. 176–178	792–794

<sup>1</sup> For further details of these governors, reference should be made to H. L. Rabino's article 'Les Dynasties du Māzandarān' in *J.A.*, 1936, pp. 397-474. The same author has since written a monograph, entitled *Gouverneurs califiens du Tabaristān*, which he has very kindly permitted me to see in manuscript, and which he hopes to publish shortly.

<sup>2</sup> Although Rauh, so far as we know, had no coins of Arab-Sassanian type struck with his name we do have dirhams of conventional Muhammadian type struck for Tabaristān in the years A.H. 147 and 148 bearing his name روح in the margin; see Lane Poole, *B.M. Cat.*, ix, p. 43, no. 54 d, pl. iv, where the name was read, however, as نوح. The specimen dated 148 came to the B.M. in 1922 from Valentine (Codrington). An earlier dirham of Tabaristān of conventional type dated 146 was published by Porter (in *Num. Chron.*, 1921, p. 318). It is in the American University of Beirut. It has no governor's name, as I was able to verify from the coin itself. Zambaur in his review of Porter's article (in *Num. Zeit.*, 1922, p. 5) draws attention to the fact that he himself published an earlier 'Abbāsid coin of Tabaristān, a *fels* of A.H. 145 (in his *Contributions*, i, no. 46). In the case of Zambaur's coin the date is defectively written سنه خمس سين (sic) و مدة which might readily stand for 155. Below the obverse central legend of Zambaur's coin is  $\text{---} \text{---}$  which may be simply an ornament, as he takes it, or else, as I am inclined to suppose, a stylized form of the name عمر 'Umar, for 'Umar ibn al-'Alā. There is actually a *fels*—though in *Num. Zeit.* he calls it a *dirham* (sic)!—dated 157 published by Zambaur (*ibid.*, no. 47) with the marginal legend in Arabic على يدي عبد الله عمر بن العلاء 'by the agency of Allah's servant 'Umar ibn al-'Alā', and with the initial letter  $\text{---}$  on the obverse in place of  $\text{ع}$ . This is the governor whose name occurs also on the Arab-Sassanian coins of Tabaristān described in this Catalogue and whose earliest coin is dated P.Y.E. 120 = A.H. 155. This date would fit the circumstances.

on them, as can be deduced from several instances of overlapping dates in the above table. This seems to indicate some measure of delegation of authority.

The natives of Tabaristān seem to have been, on the whole, well treated by their conquerors, provided they paid the annual taxes and maintained the fighting strength of the garrisons at an adequate standard. Statistics have come down to us which reveal the presence in the early days of 'Abbāsid control of some 46 garrisons throughout the land with a complement of 40,500 soldiers. The revenue was likewise on a large scale. The land-tax alone yielded 4,000,000 dirhams.<sup>1</sup>

But the 'Abbāsid occupation of Tabaristān was subject at times to violent interruption by the recrudescence of revolt in favour of a restoration of a branch of the native dynasty. The most outstanding example was the rebellion already mentioned of Windād Hormuzz.

#### *Notes on the Governors and their Coins*

##### (i) Khālid ibn Barmak (خالد بن برمك)

Shortly after the foundation of the 'Abbāsid dynasty Khālid occupied the important position of vizier. Of Irānian origin, he was the head of the famous Barmecide family of court favourites who under Hārūn al-Rashid perished so tragically.<sup>2</sup> Various dates for his governorship have been proposed by previous writers.<sup>3</sup> The coins bearing his name in Pehlevi (HALIT) and issued for Tabaristān show that he was in power there between A.H. 150/1 and 154/5.<sup>4</sup> His administration was apparently a wise one. He was on friendly terms with the native prince Windād Hormuzz, who was allowed a certain measure of control in the mountain fastnesses. Khālid's conciliatory policy is apparently reflected in his coins which have legends in Pehlevi script only.

##### (ii) 'Umar ibn al-'Alā (عمر بن العلاء)

Although 'Umar was appointed governor in succession to Khālid in A.H. 155 his connexion with Tabaristān was earlier than this. At the

<sup>1</sup> Ya'kūbi, *Les Pays*, trans. by G. Wiet, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> See L. Bouvat's monograph *Les Barmécides d'après les historiens arabes et persans*, Paris, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> See Bouvat, *op. cit.*, p. 40, who gives 148-152; so also Barthold in *Encycl. of Islam*, p. 692; Zambaur (*Manuel*, p. 187) has 148-154.

<sup>4</sup> Both Ibn Isfandiyār and Zāhir al-Dīn state that he governed for four years.

conquest of the province under Abu'l-Khaṣīb in A.H. 141, 'Umar had proved himself to be very valuable as a guide to a terrain with which he had for some years become familiar as an exiled murderer.<sup>1</sup> 'Umar's first term as governor may be reckoned from his coins as being between A.H. 155 and 160<sup>2</sup> while his second term may be placed between A.H. 162 and 164.<sup>3</sup> As for his third term (c. A.H. 167) we have no definite numismatic evidence. Some of the AFZUT coins of this period may be his, though none of them so far has been found to bear his name.

During his first term of office 'Umar's coins have his name-legends in three varieties: (a) in Pehlevi; (b) in Pehlevi and Arabic; and (c) in Arabic. The coins issued during his second period bear his name in Arabic only. Unvala (*op. cit.*, p. 22, note) argues from the use of both Pehlevi and Arabic legends for the name of 'Umar that such coins were intended for two different regions of Tabaristān, the mountains and the plain, and that they emanated from two mints, Sārī and Āmul. This is most unlikely. On the same analogy one might declare that Khālid's coins, which have no Arabic legends, were intended for the mountainous regions where Windād Hormuzd had his semi-protectorate.

Besides these coins of Arab-Sassanian type 'Umar was also responsible for the minting of coins of conventional Muhammadan type in Tabaristān (see foot-note, p. lxxv). These will be included in a subsequent volume of this Catalogue.

### (iii) *Sa'īd ibn Da'laj* (سعید بن دعلج)

For three years (A.H. 160–162/3)<sup>4</sup> Sa'īd governed Tabaristān between the dismissal of 'Umar ibn al-'Alā and his reinstatement. These two governors are the only ones in this series who have not only their own but their father's names on some of their coins. In both cases such varieties are rare. There is no example so far in the National Collection. From Sa'īd onwards also, the governor's name is invariably written in Arabic.

<sup>1</sup> Zambaur (*op. cit.*, p. 187) makes him governor for the first time in A.H. 141. He was actually then in a subordinate capacity as a commander of troops.

<sup>2</sup> Zambaur (*op. cit.*) places it between 154–158. The latter date is due to the tradition that 'Umar was deposed by the new Caliph al-Mahdi who succeeded in that year, but there is no reason why the Caliph's displeasure should not have been vented some time after his succession. The coins, moreover, support this.

<sup>3</sup> While Ibn Isfandiyār makes 'Umar's second term of office last only one year, Zāhir al-Dīn records it as three years. The coins support the latter.

<sup>4</sup> Both Ibn Isfandiyār and Zāhir al-Dīn are agreed on three years as his period of office, a fact substantiated by the coins.

(iv) *Yahyā ibn Mikhnāk* (يحيى بن مخنّاك)

This governor, who succeeded 'Umar Ibn al-'Alā after the latter's second term of office, is said to have been a pleasant official during the short time he was in power (A.H. 164–165). He was succeeded, however, by 'Abd al-Hamid Maḍrūb (165–166) whose imposition of new taxes on the native populace provoked the celebrated insurrection of Windād Hormuzd.

(v) *al-Harashī* (الحرشى)

In A.H. 166 a new governor was in control, another Yahyā, namely, Yahyā ibn Dā'ūd ibn Mamdūd al-Harashī. In order to avoid confusion<sup>1</sup> with his predecessor of the same name he has simply Harashī on his, so far unique, coin. Mr. Rhuvon Guest tells me that Harashī's father was first cousin of the king of Tabaristān, according to al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, p. 122.

(vi) *Sulaimān* (سلیمان)

Between Harashī and Sulaimān none of the governors mentioned by the historians have so far been found on coins. But, considering that Harashī's coin became known to us only in 1935, it is not improbable that the missing names may one day be found. Sulaimān is called Ibn Mūsā by Ibn Isfandiyār but Ibn Mansūr by Zahir al-Dīn. As his father's name is not found on the coins it is impossible to be certain which is correct. Sulaimān's governorship apparently lasted between A.H. 171 and 173.<sup>2</sup> His coins are remarkable in one respect. They have a geometric figure with an Arabic legend inserted in place of the face of the traditional figure of the Ispahbad. It is conceivable that this is an iconoclastic tendency on the part of Sulaimān in accordance with the strict Muhammadan veto on the employment of images. A similar obverse type is revived on the unique coin of Faql ibn Sahl at a later date (Catalogue, p. 160).

(vii) *Jarīr* (جریر)

Jarīr's name does not appear amongst the governors of Tabaristān in the annalists. He was no doubt a regional commissioner. His coins are known between A.H. 170 and 172, overlapping some of Sulaimān's. Certain of the AFZUT coins also bear his name in the margin.

<sup>1</sup> Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 495; 1879, p. 110) actually ascribed the known coins of Yahyā (ibn Mikhnāk) to al-Harashī. Zambaur (*Manuel*, p. 187) has done the same.

<sup>2</sup> Both Ibn Isfandiyār and Zahir al-Dīn mention eight months, but the coins are definitely against this.

(viii) *Ma'add* (مَعْدٌ)

Like Jarīr, Ma'add is only known from his coins of the year A.H. 173 (P.-Y.E. 138). He may have succeeded the former as sub-governor. A unique AFZUT coin has his name in the margin (Flag. 2, p. 158).

(ix) *Hānī* (هَانِي)

Hānī ibn Hānī is mentioned by the historians as the successor of Sulaimān. Their coins overlap somewhat. Hānī's term of office, according to the numismatic evidence, was between A.H. 172 and 173. He is praised for his benevolent guidance of affairs. His coins have the Arabic letter *ع* below his own name. If this stands for عدل 'justice' it seems not out of place in such a context. Unvala (*op. cit.*, p. 12) mentions a variety without the *ع* below the name—incidentally, he is wrong in calling it a countermark. Amongst the numerous examples of Hānī's coins that I have examined I have never encountered such an instance. One of the supposed cases quoted by Unvala (no. 1617) is the coin of Hānī dated 138 which is in the Copenhagen Museum. This is the coin catalogued by Østrup (no. 85) which I have been enabled to illustrate in this Catalogue (Pl. XXXVIII. 13). It can readily be seen that Unvala is wrong and that the letter *ع* is actually below the governor's name. This leads me to be very sceptical of his other citations which I have been unable to test.

(x) *Mukātil* (مُقاَتِلٌ)

History is silent regarding Mukātil. His coinage, which ranges from A.H. 172–176, shows that he was a sub-governor contemporary with Sulaimān, Jarīr, Ma'add, Hānī, 'Abdallāh, Kudaid, and Ibrāhīm. Considering the comparatively lengthy term of office that he had, it is surprising that no mention of him has survived in the standard histories.

(xi) *'Abdallāh [ibn Kahtaba]* (عبد الله بن قحطبة)

'Abdallāh, according to the historians, was the successor of Hānī. It is permissible to regard him as a son or descendant of the renowned general Kahtaba who helped to establish the 'Abbāsid dynasty. 'Abdallāh's name appears on coins between the years A.H. 174–176. His coins are by no means common. The unusual varieties recorded by Unvala are commented on in the Catalogue (p. 151).

(xii) *Kudaid?* (قدید)

It is only recently that the coinage of this new governor—unrecorded by the historians of Tabaristān—has come to light. Even his name is by no means certain, owing to the ambiguity of the Kufic script in which it is written (see U. 16, p. 152). His sole coin date is P.Y.E. 140 = A.H. 175. This would indicate that he was a sub-governor under 'Abdallāh ibn Kahtaba.

(xiii) *Ibrāhīm* (ابراهيم)

Like Mukātil and Kudaid, his contemporaries, Ibrāhīm has left no trace of his activities on the pages of history. His rare coins, however, show that he was in office during the years A.H. 175–176.

(xiv) *al-Fadl ibn Sahl* (الفضل بن سهل)

Like the founder of the Barmecide family al-Fadl was of Irānian origin. He was converted to Islam only in A.H. 190, some seven years before the unique coin of his in this series was struck. After the death of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd in 193 occurred the struggle between his sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn for their rights. Al-Fadl supported the latter. Following the defeat of Amīn's forces in 195 al-Fadl had many honours heaped upon him. Ma'mūn gave him the post of governor-general of the Eastern Provinces and the title of *Dhu'l-Ri'āsatain*, 'Lord of the Two Commands' (i.e. chief minister of state and commander-in-chief of the army). Both his name and title appear on this remarkable coin of his struck for Tabaristān in P.Y.E. 161 = A.H. 197.<sup>1</sup> By 202/3 he had fallen from grace and the Caliph had him assassinated.<sup>2</sup>

IV. *The Abbāsid Coins of Bukhārā*

Geographically these coins bring us across the celebrated River Oxus, our modern Amu Darya, into the Transoxine province of Sughd, the classical Sogdiana, in Central Asia, the two principal towns of which were Bukhārā (بخارا) and Samarkand (سمرقند). The Oxus, or 'the River' (*al-Nahr*), as the Arabs called it, was the general traditional line of

<sup>1</sup> His name also appears on the conventional 'Abbāsid coins, examples of which will be included in a subsequent volume of this Catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> The continuance of his title ذو الراستن on coins of Rayi (Muhammadiya) as late as A.H. 204 rather impugns the authenticity of the historical records.

demarcation between the Persians and the Turks, that is, between Īrān and Tūrān. At the time of the Arab penetration of Transoxiana numerous tribes of either Turkish or Ephthalite or mixed origin were in occupation. It is of interest in this connexion to note the statement of Mas'ūdi:<sup>1</sup> 'The Ephthalites (*Hayātīla*) are the Sughd who live between Bukhārā and Samarkand.' We have already considered the Ephthalite power in the Cisoxine province of Khurāsān (see above, p. lxix). The intimate connexion between the two provinces, with their tribal relationship, is exemplified in the old-fashioned genealogical system which makes Khurāsān and Haital (the singular of *Hayātīla*) the descendants of Noah.<sup>2</sup> The Arabic historians, however, do not clearly distinguish between *Hayātīla* (Ephthalites) and *Atrāk* (Turks), so that such racial classifications have to be taken with reserve. We know that Sogdiana was invaded by Turkish hordes at the end of the seventh century A.D. (c. A.H. 70); this was after the first Arab inroads. We also find an alliance being made between the natives of the Transoxine Province and the Turkish Khāns in order to expel the Muhammadan governors.

Briefly the early history of the Arabs in Sogdiana, during the period with which we are concerned here, may be outlined as follows :

In A.H. 54 (A.D. 674) 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, crossed the Oxus and encountered the army of the native prince whose title was the Bukhār-Khudā, literally 'Lord of Bukhārā'. The latter was defeated and a treaty was made, whereby tribute was paid to the conquerors. Two thousand of the enemy soldiery are said to have been transported by 'Ubaidallāh to Baṣra, his capital in 'Irāk, to form his personal bodyguard. In this we can see foreshadowed the later practice of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs of surrounding themselves with bands of Turkish mercenaries.

The available historical traditions of the period are far from complete or satisfactory. A semi-legendary figure of a Turkish queen-regent is credited with a role of some importance in the political affairs following the first Arab invasion. She is given the familiar Turkish designation of Khātūn, or Lady. Tabarī<sup>3</sup> calls her Kabaj-Khātūn, and makes her the wife of the ruling king of the Turks. But there is a great deal of discrepancy in the fragmentary accounts of her regency. The consideration that her son Tughshāda, on whose behalf she is sometimes said to have taken over the reins of government after her husband's death, is

<sup>1</sup> *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ii, p. 195, quoted by Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> See Marquart, *ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> ii, p. 169.

apparently still only a youth some twenty years later, points to some chronological error in the historians.

After 'Ubaidallāh, Sa'īd ibn 'Uthmān in A.H. 56 carried the occupation of Sogdiana still farther. But the tide of conquest receded for a few years till Salm ibn Ziyād led a memorable expeditionary force into the province and spent the winter in Samarkand (A.H. 63–64). The general disruption about this time throughout the Caliphate not unnaturally led to a relaxation of the Arab control in Transoxiana. It was not until A.H. 77 that Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh endeavoured to restore the Umayyad suzerainty in the province. But he was soon recalled and the administration of the Eastern Provinces and the extension of the Islamic state passed into the hands of the redoubtable Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. Some years later he recommended to the governorship of Khurāsān the distinguished Arab general Kutaiba ibn Muslim, who succeeded where his predecessors had failed, and for the first time firmly established Arab control in the territory across the Oxus. This was about the years A.H. 89–91. Nēzak, the Ephthalite rebel leader, was one of the many native princes in revolt who were destroyed in the campaign. But, generally speaking, Kutaiba wisely utilized these members of the petty dynasties of the land for his own purposes. Under Arab governors dispatched from Khurāsān the native chieftains retained their estates and a measure of local government. Kutaiba, for example, diplomatically installed Tughshāda, the son of the old Queen-Regent Khātūn, as Prince of Bukhārā. The latter strengthened his own position by becoming a Muslim, and is said to have ruled for thirty years until, about A.H. 121, he was murdered. But the Arab occupation of Sogdiana was far from consolidated. Especially after the death of Kutaiba in A.H. 96 we find a set-back to the Muhammadan advance. The Turkish tribes were not all willing to accept the loss of their former independence, and they appear to have received certain support from China. There are several records of Chinese embassies extant. It is also of some interest to note the appearance on the scene, during this period of flux, of a young Sassanian prince Khusrāu, son of Firōz and grandson of Yezdigird III. His endeavour to restore the kingdom of his forefathers was unavailing. There were more formidable forces in conflict. After many reverses of fortune the Muhammadians once more gained the ascendancy in Transoxiana, following the appointment of the very capable Naṣr ibn Saiyār as governor of Khurāsān and its Transoxine dependencies. Peace and prosperity came to Sogdiana. The payment of taxes—that ever

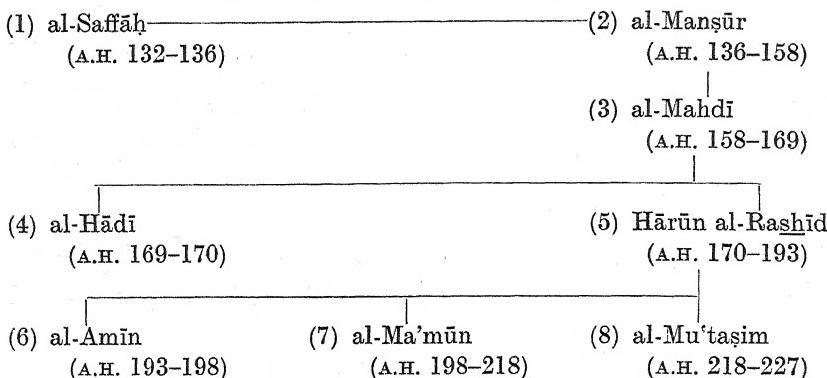
recurring source of contention—was regulated, though not without opposition. All landowners were compelled to pay the land-tax (*kharāj*), irrespective of their being Muslims. Many natives had gone over to the new faith of Islam expressly to avoid this taxation. But only non-Muslims were required to pay the poll-tax (*jizya*) as well. The revolutionary movements that hastened the downfall of the Umayyad Caliphate, however, disturbed the last years of Nasr's administration. He died in A.H. 131, having been spared the final triumph of Abū Muslim and the 'Abbāsid partisans.

About this time also we find mention again of the Bukhār-Khudā. This time it is Kutaiba, son of Tughshāda, who had been so named after the first great Arab conqueror of the land. He allied himself with Abū Muslim and helped to suppress a counter-revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, soon afterwards he is said to have been put to death by Abū Muslim's orders on the ground of apostasy. Whether he is also to be identified with a son of Tughshāda called Sakān (سکان), recorded by Narshakhī, is problematical. His brother (or son ?), the Bukhār-Khudā Baniyāt, succeeded him. But having associated himself with the religious revolt of al-Mukanna', 'the Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān', he perished in the latter's downfall. The title, however, still survived as late as the Sāmānid dynasty.

Under the early 'Abbāsid Caliphs the administration of Transoxiana remained under the central control of the governors of Khurāsān. Time and again these governors were called upon to pacify or suppress rebellious elements in their territories. With these numerous disturbances we are not directly concerned here. The names of several of the governors, such as Musaiyab ibn Zuhair and Ghiṭrif ibn 'Aṭā, are, however, linked with the history of the special Bukhārān dirhams which are described in this Catalogue. They will be dealt with in due course. So far as the subsequent history of Transoxiana is concerned, we can safely draw to a close with the successful policy of the seventh 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Ma'mūn (A.H. 198–218), who encouraged his Irānian subjects by appointing them to administrative offices. The resplendent period of Islamic culture that resulted in these Central Asian Provinces must in large measure be credited to him.

As the coins described in this section of the Catalogue fall within the reigns of the first 'Abbāsid Caliphs the following dynastic data may prove useful :

## THE EARLY 'ABBĀSID CALIPHHS



The coins of Bukhārā with Sassanian types are, roughly speaking, of two classes: (1) those issued by the native Bukhārān princes, and (2) those issued by the Arab governors. All the second class have Arabic legends. It is with the latter that we are more particularly concerned in the present study, though it is necessary to deal briefly with the antecedent class as well.

The remarkable feature of all these coins of Bukhārā is that they are based on the coin-types of the Sassanian King Bahrām or Varah-rān V—Bahrām the Mighty Hunter of Persian legend—who reigned three centuries before (A.D. 420-438). He had led a successful expedition against the Ephthalites in Khurāsān towards the end of his reign, and the extension of Sassanian influence into the Transoxine provinces thus inaugurated led, as we can imagine, to the circulation of his drachms amongst the populace, who must previously have used Kushān coins. This fact must account for the preference that the later Bukhārān princes during the Umayad Caliphate had for the continuance of this coin-type, whereas their Arab contemporaries in Irān, almost without exception, favoured the types of Khusrau II (A.D. 590-628). Even in the Cisoxine province of Khurāsān the Arab-Ephthalite coinage, as we have seen (p. lxv), followed the Khusrau tradition.

The family resemblance between the Bukhārān coins and their prototype, the Sassanian drachms of Bahrām V, is readily seen in Plate XXVIII. Beyond a general gradual debasement the obverse and reverse types vary but little. The greatest change takes place in the legends. The reverse legend on Bahrām's coin is the Pehlevi mint-name MRW (Merv), which corresponds to the later Pehlevi form of the

word on Arab-Sassanian coins (see Table of Mint-Names, no. 41). This disappears from the Bukhārān imitations, which have no mention either of mint or date.

The obverse Pehlevi legend on the Sassanian drachms of Bahrām V, beginning behind the king's head and running anti-clockwise, is as follows: MZDYSN BGI RAMSHTRI VRHRAN MLKAN MLKA (i.e. Mazda-Worshipper, divine being, prosperity of the realm, Varahrān, King of Kings). Of this legend the only portion that survives in a debased form on the Bukhārān imitations is that to the left of the king's head. The Pehlevi legend to the right of the king is displaced by another in a script that may conveniently be termed Bukhārān. This will be considered later. The debasement of the Pehlevi portion can be demonstrated from the following examples:

	Catalogue, p. 163, Pl. XXVIII. b 1		
	„ p. 163,	„	b 2
	„ p. 163,	„	b 3
	„ p. 163,	„	b 4
	„ p. 163,	„	b 5
	„ p. 164,	„	b 8

Thomas (*Num. Chron.*, 1881, p. 121, and *Indian Antiquary*, 1879, p. 271) regarded the legend on the last two examples as Arabic for *Sunnī*, 'orthodox'. Markoff (*Registre*, p. 15) read it as the Arabic *ح*. Allotte de la Fuÿe (*Num. Chron.*, 1927, p. 167) also regarded it as Arabic, but of uncertain significance. Lerch (*Sur les monnaies des Boukhâr-Khoudahs*) correctly, in my opinion, considered it as derivable from the Pehlevi. An examination of the above table ought to make this view perfectly natural. For this reason the Museum specimens of this class are not included in the present Catalogue, except for a few representative specimens for purposes of illustration, since I do not consider that there is any evidence that they were actually issued by the Muhammadan governors of Bukhārā. It is stated in some historical accounts that the minting of Bukhārān silver coins by the native princes was begun during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr (A.H. 11–13). This may or may not be true. But it is certain that at least during the Umayyad Caliphate, and in the early years of the 'Abbāsid régime up to the appearance of the Bukhārān coins with the Arabic names of 'Abbāsid Caliphs and governors, these native dirhams were issued.

They unfortunately have neither date nor personal name of a ruler nor any other detail that could establish their precise chronological position. We can only conclude that most of them are pre-'Abbāsid.

Even this dating has only been made possible chiefly by the research of Pierre Lerch, who in 1876 was the first to read the Bukhārān, or as he called it the Sogdian, script on these coins, and was therefore enabled to attribute them to the Princes of Bukhārā. When Fraehn (*Novae Symbolae*, Pl. ii, no. 14, pp. 45–6) first published examples in 1819 he ascribed them to the Khazars. Later (in his *Ibn Fozlan*, p. 78) he doubted this, and regarded them as the coinage of the Turks of the tenth century who overcame the Sāmānids. Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 122) thought likewise. Then appeared Lerch's valuable contribution to the International Congress of Orientalists at St. Petersburg in 1876 (published in 1879 in the *Travaux*, vol. ii, pp. 419–29). He considered the undeciphered legend to consist of eleven characters in a form of script derived from Aramaic. His transcription was as follows :

بُخَارَةٌ حُدَّدٌ i.e. (from r. to l.) Bukhār Khuddāt.

This Bukhārān name-legend incidentally takes the place of the Pehlevi name-legend on the Bahrām V prototypes. Lerch was also able to support his interpretation by quoting the 'History of Bukhārā' (تاریخ بخارا) written by Narshakhi, which contains a chapter on the coinage of the country. As this provides historical data of numismatic importance to the present study it is necessary to consider it briefly.

The original Arabic text made by Narshakhi in A.H. 332, and presented to the Sāmānid ruler Nūh ibn Nasr, was afterwards (in A.H. 522) translated into Persian by al-Kubāwī, though with omissions. A further abridged edition was made by Muḥammad ibn Zufar about A.H. 574, and an unknown historian continued the tale down to the Mongol conquest. The Persian translator incidentally added information mainly from the 'Treasuries of Science' (خزانة العلوم), a book composed by the historian Naisābūrī (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 15). The text has been published by Ch. Schefer<sup>1</sup> from manuscripts in Paris. The extracts quoted here are based on this edition.

<sup>1</sup> *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Mohammed Nerchakhy*, Paris, 1892. Although he promised to produce a translation, he failed to do so. There is also an edition lithographed in Bukhārā. A Russian translation by N. Lykoshin, supervised by Barthold, was published in 1897 at Tashkent. Lerch himself (*op. cit.*, pp. 426–8, f.n. 1) gives the text of Narshakhi relative to the coinage, and Allotte de la Fuÿe in his article in the *Num. Chron.*, 1927, pp. 159–60 provides a literal translation in French of certain passages from Schefer's text. See also Markoff's *Registre*, pp. 16 ff.

What then does Narshakhi tell us about the Bukhārān coinage?

(a) 'Pieces of pure silver were struck in Bukhārā in the Caliphate of Abū Bakr. Previous to this period there was no coinage in Bukhārā' (p. 6). We have already dealt with the first part of this statement above. The second part can only be relatively true. Sassanian and Ephthalite coins must have circulated in Bukhārā before the Arab conquest, but the statement is probably correct if we confine it to coins with the title of the Bukhār-Khudā.

(b) 'The first person to mint silver in Bukhārā was a king named Kānā (كان) Bukhār Khudāt (بخار خدات) who reigned in Bukhārā for thirty years. At Bukhārā there were merchants who sold linen and wheat who drew his attention to the fact that silver money was minted in other countries. So he ordered money to be minted at Bukhārā in pure silver [نقرة خالص] and commanded his portrait with crown to be engraved thereon. This happened in the time of the Caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful Abū Bakr (May Allah Most High be pleased with him!) and lasted until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when Ghiṭrif ibn 'Atā became governor of Khurāsān in the month of Ramadān A.H. 185. This Ghiṭrif was the maternal uncle of Hārūn al-Rashīd . . .' (p. 34).

The numismatic evidence, as we shall see, is against this. It is true that we have Bukhārān coins with the name of the Caliph Hārūn (Catalogue, nos. 338–43, p. 168)—although so far none with Ghiṭrif's name has come to light—but we have also got examples that can be placed even earlier, namely in the reign of the Caliph al-Mahdi (A.H. 158–169) (Catalogue, pp. 164–7). We shall deal with these later.

Narshakhi has more to tell us of the coinage of Ghiṭrif, but as it largely deals with a metrological aspect of the Bukhārān coinage it is better considered when we come to that section (see pp. cl f.).

Before we pass on to the Bukhārān coins issued in 'Abbāsid times with legends in Arabic, we must turn our attention for a moment to the above-mentioned ingenious interpretation proposed by Lerch. Drouin (in *Revue Numismatique*, 1891, p. 224, f.n. 1) did not consider the reading Bukhār Khuddāt as sufficiently conclusive, though he did not supply an alternative. This opinion he based on the variant legends transcribed by Markoff (in his *Monnaies Arsacides, &c.*, p. 133, nos. 1–9) from specimens in St. Petersburg. But Markoff's representations of legends, as I have occasion to point out more than once in this Catalogue, are far from reliable. Prof. Otto Donner (in *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, vol. xiv, p. 37) has likewise been misled, as Drouin was,

by Markoff's alleged variants, which he reproduces. An examination of many specimens of these coins, both in this country and abroad, has shown me that this particular name-legend really varies but slightly. I am glad to note that Zambaur (in *Num. Zeit.*, 1928, p. 126) is of the same opinion that it occurs 'mit nur unwesentlichen Varianten auf allen Münzen dieser Serie'.

The attribution to the Bukhār-Khudās, so brilliantly made by Lerch, is beyond question. Nevertheless, his interpretation of the end of the Bukhārān coin legend is by no means established. Let us consider it. Lerch read it (from r. to l.) thus:

←  
**تَادُوكْه** TADDUKH

He stated (*op. cit.*, p. 429) that the name is found in manuscripts both with double *d* and single *d* (خُدّات or خُدات). He concludes, from his interpretation of the coin-legend, that the former is the more correct one. In Schefer's edition of the Narshakhi texts no such form with double *d* occurs. What we do find in Schefer are the forms خُدّات *Khudāt* and خُدّا *Khudā*. The original final letter *t* of the latter, we can reasonably suppose, had no etymological value, but under Arabic influence it became a *tā marbūta* (ة), which in later Persian practice took the form of an ordinary *tā tawīla* (ـ). Lerch, in a continuation of his work (in Russian), dealt with the etymological implications of the name, but when he died only ten folios and four plates had been printed. This unfinished study was afterwards edited and published under the auspices of the St. Petersburg Archaeological Society (*Trudy Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, pt. xviii, 1875).

To substantiate this reading of *Khuddāt*, Lerch has to trace its history back to a more ancient Zend word *Khwaddāta*, meaning 'self-created' (خود + دات), a special appellation of God which he considered came, in course of time, to be applied to the Princes of Bukhārā. But they are more likely to have been designated by the old Irānian word which expressed the idea of 'God, or Lord' (modern Persian *Khudā*, cf. the cognate title *Khedive*) and which had no final *t*.

The difficulties arising from Lerch's reading of the end portion of the name-legend have been recently reviewed by the veteran numismatist Allotte de la Fuÿe (*op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff.), who has proposed to read the disputed letters as *KHUD KANA*, thus making twelve letters instead of the eleven of Lerch, thus: **خُد كانا** instead of DAT. The similarity, and consequent confusion, between D and K in scripts

of the Aramaic family would easily account for the divergence of interpretation in the case of the first letter of this group. As for the last letter, Lerch regarded it as a *t* merely because of the form of the name Khudāt in Narshakhī. The interesting point about Allotte de la Fuÿe's reading is that the full legend becomes Bukhār Khud Kānā, which can readily be equated with the actual name of the Prince of Bukhārā who is credited with introducing the local coinage according to Narshakhī, namely, Kānā Bukhār-Khudā (see above, p. lxxxvii).

Objections, however, can be raised against the reading Khud as much as against Lerch's Khuddāt as being linguistically weak. But Allotte de la Fuÿe, who recognized the difficulty, has published a Bukhārān coin (*Num. Chron.*, 1927, p. 166, no. 4, Pl. VIII. 3) with a different legend from the usual one, and one which, moreover, continues across the bust of the king. In this legend he maintains he finds justification for the form KHUD (or HUD as he transliterates it).

The transcription of the legend on this coin is given by him (p. 165, 4) as follows:

 ? DUKHNAADKHRAKHub

This he interprets as Bukhār Khudaan Khud, i.e. 'the Lord of Lords of Bukhārā'. The title as such would have analogies in the *Malkān Malkā*, 'King of Kings', of Sassanian, and the *Shāhān Shāh*, 'Shah of Shahs', of later Persian coins. Obviously, if this is the case, the rest of the legend across the bust contains the prince's name, but, as Allotte de la Fuÿe points out, the script is so uncertain that he cannot find in it either the name of Kānā, or of any other of the Bukhār-Khudās whose names are known to us from the annals. A second specimen of this type was sold at the White King Sale (*Schulman*, Sept., 1904, Pl. VIII, no. 848), though attributed wrongly to Bahrām Cōbin. Markoff apparently bought it for the Ermitage, but I have been unable to verify this. The legend, however, in this case is not quite so distinct. After a careful examination of the legends of both specimens from plates, my opinion is that Allotte de la Fuÿe's interpretation is very feasible; although, no doubt, if clearer examples come to light some more decisive conclusion than this may be reached.

The more common legend, already considered, of Bukhar Khud Kānā (if we accept Allotte de la Fuÿe's reading) has a long run. It continues unchanged even along with the Arabic legends, until the times of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashid, when finally all traces of the local Bukhārān script disappear from the coins and the legends become altogether Arabic. None of these Bukhārān coins with Arabic legends can be dated

before the early 'Abbāsid dynasty. In the Catalogue they have been classified into two main divisions :

- A. With Bilingual Legends, and
- B. With Arabic Legends only.

We shall now consider these in turn and try to determine their chronology.

#### *A. With Bilingual Legends*

In all the coins of this group the usual Bukhārān legend referring to the Bukhār-Khudā occurs ; but, in addition, on the left of the crowned bust, in place of the debased Pehlevi legend, there is substituted a legend in Arabic. As this legend contains the name of one of the early 'Abbāsid Caliphs, or of one of their governors, it is possible to place the coins in question in some sort of chronological framework. The following scheme is suggested as an approximation only, the reasons for which will be given below when we consider each case individually :

#### *Bilingual Coins of Bukhārā*

- (a) With name محمد (*Muhammad*), A.H. 158–163 (A.D. 775–780)
- (b) With name المهدي (*al-Mahdī*), A.H. 163–166 (A.D. 780–783)
- (c) With legend المهدي الفضل لله (*al-Mahdī al-Fadl lillāh*), A.H. 166–169 (A.D. 783–785)
- (d) With legend مهرية الخليفة موسى (*Mahdiyat al-Khalifa Mūsā*), A.H. 169–170 (A.D. 785–786)  
[Zambaur's unpublished coin with name جعفر (*Ja'far*), A.H. 171–173?]
- (e) With legend مهرية الخليفة هرون (*Mahdiyat al-Khalifa Hārūn*), A.H. 170–193 (A.D. 786–809).

(a) The coins with the name *Muhammad* are described in the Catalogue on p. 164. Several explanations of this name might be put forward :

(1) As a pious reference to the Prophet of Islam himself. Allotte de la Fuÿe (*op. cit.*, p. 184) considers that if this were the case these coins might have been issued by the early Bukhār-Khudās, such as Tughshāda and his son Kutaiba, who were converts to the new Faith. This is most unlikely. The coins of this type are so closely linked in brevity of legend with the *al-Mahdī* coins, group (b), that they must be almost, if not completely, coeval.

(2) The fact that the Caliph *al-Mahdī*'s other name was *Muhammad* would fit the circumstances very well. This member of the 'Abbāsid

royal house actually had his name al-Mahdī Muḥammad on coins of the conventional Muḥammadan type struck during the reign of his father al-Maṇṣūr (A.H. 136–158). As heir-apparent he was appointed to the governorship of the East in A.H. 141. In fact the great city of Raiy was rebuilt by him under the name of al-Muḥammadiya, the new name which appears on the regular 'Abbāsid coins from A.H. 148 onwards.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore not at all improbable that the name on these Bukhārān coins may refer to the Caliph al-Mahdī, either before or after his accession in A.H. 158.

(3) The fact that the long variety of Arabic legend on these Bukhārān coins was in full use under the Caliphs al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd, as we shall see, makes it most unlikely that the simple legend type Muḥammad can refer to the later Caliph al-Amin, who was also called Muḥammad.

(4) There is a fourth possibility, which has the added support of the annals, namely, that the name is that of some governor.

Al-Makdīsī<sup>2</sup> in referring to the taxes of this period and region mentions three kinds of dirhams in circulation called, respectively, *Muhammadīya*, *Musaiyabīya*, and *Ghitrifīya dirhams*. He adds the interesting detail, which is certainly a romantic touch, that Muḥammad, Musaiyab, and *Ghitrif* were three brothers who were responsible for the coins in question. The two last-named are obviously Musaiyab ibn Zuhair (A.H. 163–166) and *Ghitrif* ibn 'Atā (appointed A.H. 185), both known governors of Khurāsān and the Transoxine provinces. According to Gardizi (quoted by Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 205) the first-named was Muḥammad ibn Dahda. As his name is not included amongst the known governors, he was probably a subordinate official in Bukhārā. Whether the coins with the name Muḥammad bore his name, or that of the Caliph al-Mahdī, we are apparently not far wrong in regarding them as the *Muhammadīya dirhams* (درهم محمدیة) of the historians, and their place in the above chronological framework seems justified.

(b) This group certainly bears the name of the third 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī (158–169). There are two varieties of these coins: (i) with three pellets on the bust; and (ii) a rare variety with the Arabic exclamation بَرْوَو! 'Bravo!' on the bust. These particular coins I consider to be the *Musaiyabīya dirhams* (درهم مسیبیة) of the annalists, which were struck by the governor Musaiyab ibn Zuhair, who successfully

<sup>1</sup> See Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> De Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, iii, pp. 339–40.

quelled the rebellion of the 'Veiled Prophet' and his ally the Bukhārā Khudā Baniyāt. He was in control in the years A.H. 163–166.

(c) The Arabic on the coins of this group contains two names: (i) that of the Caliph al-Mahdī; and (ii) that of a governor named al-Fadl. The phrase used *al-Fadl lillāh* may be translated 'How excellent is al-Fadl!'. A parallel to this usage has been noted on the Arab-Sassanian coins of the Umayyad governor Ṭalḥa ibn 'Abdallāh (see p. 95). There are two governors of Khurāsān and its dependencies at this time of the name of al-Fadl. (i) al-Fadl ibn Sulaimān (A.H. 166–171) and (ii) al-Fadl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī (A.H. 177–179). The former is almost certainly the one recorded on the coins since, firstly, he succeeded Musaiyab, who was no doubt responsible for the coins of the preceding group (b), and, secondly, he was governing in the reign of al-Mahdī, whose name precedes his, whereas the other al-Fadl did not function until later under the Caliph Hārūn. The reason why I have dated these coins between the years 166–169 is because a new type of coin (Group d) can be dated with certainty to the years 169–170.

(d) This new group is due to my good fortune in coming across a unique and hitherto unpublished specimen in the Istanbul Museum with the legend *Mahdiyat-al-Khalifa Mūsā*, i.e. 'Mahdiya of the Caliph Mūsā'. Mūsā was the other name of the Caliph al-Hādī, the son and successor of al-Mahdī and the brother of Hārūn al-Rashid. His brief reign (A.H. 169–170) provides a most useful fixed date in the chronology of these Bukhārān coins. The word *Mahdiya* is obviously a coin denomination, having reference to the preceding coins with the name of al-Mahdī struck during his Caliphate. The feminine form of the name presupposes some word like *sikka* (سکّة) 'money' or *fidda* (فِدْدَة) 'silver' understood, rather than *dirham* which is masculine.

Another unique Bukhārān coin, which no doubt ought to be included at this point in the chronology, is an unpublished specimen with the name Ja'far (جعفر) across the bust, which has been briefly mentioned by Zambaur, but neither illustrated nor described, in his review<sup>1</sup> of Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe's article. The coin is in Zambaur's own collection at present housed in the Vienna Museum. It is to be hoped that it will be reproduced some day soon for the benefit of students. The name Ja'far may probably be that of the governor Ja'far ibn al-Ash'ath who ruled in the years A.H. 171–173, though it might also be that of Ja'far ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī, the favourite of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashid.

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Zeit.*, 1928, p. 127.

Perhaps when the coin itself is published, however, it may be easier to decide.

(e) The Arabic legend on the coins of this group is similar to that on the preceding group (d) except that Hārūn's name has been substituted for that of Mūsā. A 'Mahdiya of the Caliph Hārūn' obviously falls within the years A.H. 170–193. If we regard these particular coins as being the *Ghitrifīya dirhams* (درهم غطريفيه), which we have already mentioned, we might even date their first issue more precisely. Ghitrif ibn 'Aṭā was governor of Khurāsān and its dependent territories in the years A.H. 174–176. If this group of coins was struck at this date they might naturally follow the coinage with the name of Ja'far referred to by Zambaur, which I have suggested above might have been issued about A.H. 171–173. On the other hand, according to Narshakī (p. 34) Ghitrif's manipulation of the coinage, which we shall consider later, was in the year A.H. 185. Moreover, the coins of this group in the Museum Collection are far from betraying any considerable baseness in their metallic composition such as would warrant their being considered as *Ghitrifīya dirhams*. So far, however, no coins with the name of Ghitrif have come to light to settle the difficulty. Perhaps his name was never put on the coinage. Barthold (*op. cit.*, p. 207) is quite wrong in stating that, in his view, 'the words of Narshakī and Sam'ānī (in spite of Prof. N. Veselovsky's opinion) do not allow of any doubt that the names of the three viceroys [i.e. Muhammad ibn Dahda, Musaiyab ibn Zuhair, and Ghitrif ibn 'Aṭā] were engraved on coins, perhaps not in Arabic, but in Aramaic characters'. It was by no means a *sine qua non* that these governors' names should be placed on their coins, though it is always a possibility. We have, in fact, already noted two or three cases where they do occur. But that their names should be written in Aramaic (or *Bukhārān*) script is highly unlikely. As we have already mentioned the Aramaic legend on all these coins varies but little. The only real variant legend is simply an expansion of the *Bukhār-Khudā* title.

In concluding this outline of the Bilingual Coins of *Bukhārā* it should be noted that the 6<sup>me</sup> Classe, Légende arabe مدينه الخليفة , of Allotte de la Fuÿe (*op. cit.*, p. 171) is due to a misreading of the legend on a coin in the Stroganoff Collection illustrated by Tiesenhausen (*Notice*, p. 11, Pl. I. 6). The latter also misread the legend. An examination of the plate clearly shows that the correct reading is مدينه الخليفة هرون and the coin in question is but another specimen of the above group (e).

B. *With Arabic Legends only*

On coins of this class all trace of *Bukhārān* script has completely disappeared. Obviously they are later in date than the preceding coins. Internal evidence confirms this as we shall see. So far two Arabic legends only are known on the coins of this class:

(i) بسم الله محمد رسول الله محمدية مما امر به الامين على سليمان الله

(ii) بسم الله محمد رسول الله الخاقان الأعظم امين (?) امير المؤمنين

(i) The interpretation of this legend presents several difficulties in the last four words only, the rest is beyond question. It goes: 'In the name of Allah; Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allah; A *Muhammadīya* ordered by . . .'. The first word that follows might be one of two things: *al-Amīr*, 'the Governor', or *al-Amīn*, a proper name. Markoff (*Registre*, p. 13) and Allotte de la Fuÿe (*op. cit.*, p. 173), without considering the alternative, chose the former interpretation, no doubt influenced by the proper names that follow. But it seems to me on epigraphic grounds that this is inadmissible. The last letter of the word cannot be an *r*, since it does not resemble the Kufic *r* which occurs already in two words in the same legend, namely رسول and امر. On the other hand, it most certainly agrees in shape with the last letter of Sulaimān سليمان. My conclusion is that the word must be read as *al-Amin*. If so, then these coins were struck some time in the Caliphate of *al-Amin*, A.H. 193–198. The coin denomination *Muhammadīya* we have already come across applied to the early 'Abbāsid *Bukhārān* coins with the name *Muhammad*. The present instance may be an extension of this usage, or else a reference to the Caliph *al-Amin* himself, whose other name was *Muhammad*. The next two words that present difficulty can be read most naturally as 'Ali and Sulaimān. Markoff and Allotte de la Fuÿe read them both as the name of a particular governor. Markoff<sup>1</sup> wondered, however, whether the Arabic word *ibn* (بن) between the two might not be concealed in the ornamentation. But there is no trace at all of this. Another possibility that might present itself is that على يدي سليمان على سليمان stands for 'by the agency of Sulaimān', an oft recurring phrase in Arabic numismatic legends, especially after a preceding مما امر به. This suggestion, however, I do not wish to stress. In fact I think the last word لillāh is against this interpretation. It obviously tags on at the end of

<sup>1</sup> *Registre*, p. 22.

the legend, although Thomas (*Indian Antiquary*, ii, p. 118, and *Num. Chron.*, 1881, p. 128) thought fit to put it at the beginning. 'Ali Sulaimān *lillāh* seems to me to be analogous to *al-Fadl lillāh* on the coins of Group (c) above. In consequence my translation of the whole legend is as follows:

'In the name of Allah : Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allah. (This is) a Muhammadiya which al-Amin ordered. Well done, 'Ali (and) Sulaimān !'

As it is most unlikely that a Muhammadan would have such a double name as 'Ali Sulaimān at this early date, it seems natural to consider two governors as being intended. The absence of a conjunction between the names is not without parallel.

Can these *Bukhārān* coins, then, have been struck on behalf of the Caliph al-Amin ? Let us glance at the historical situation. Al-Amin was so called by his father Hārūn al-Rashīd in the year 173 (or 175) when he appointed him heir-apparent (ولی عہد). A few years later his brother 'Abdallāh, who was al-Amin's senior by a few months, but the son of a Persian (?) slave-girl, was designated successor to the heir-apparent (ولی ولی عہد) and called al-Ma'mūn. In 186 the lands of the Caliphate were apportioned amongst Hārūn's sons as follows: 'Irāk, Syria, Egypt, and Africa went to al-Amin ; Khurāsān and the Eastern Provinces, between Hamadhān and the Indus, formed Ma'mūn's share ; while the lands toward the Byzantine frontiers were allotted to a third son, al-Kāsim. Deep-rooted rivalry existed between Amin and Ma'mūn, which came to a head with the death of their father in A.H. 193. Two years later Amin deposed his brother and sent a large army under the famous general 'Ali ibn 'Isā to subdue the Eastern Provinces. The dramatic defeat and death of the latter near Raiy marked the beginning of Amin's downfall. Ma'mūn owed his success to his commander Tāhir, the founder of the later dynasty of the Tāhirids.

If the above-mentioned coins were issued in Amin's name as the legends seem to testify, they are the only coins of *Bukhārā* with his name. The regular 'Abbāsid dirhams of conventional Muhammadan type begin in A.H. 193. The copper ones are earlier. One of this date has no Caliph's name and might therefore have been issued under Hārūn.<sup>1</sup> We have coins of *Bukhārā* with Ma'mūn's name on them as heir-apparent between the years A.H. 193-196. But from 195 onwards the coins of *Bukhārā* bear Ma'mūn's name and title as *Imām* or *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.

<sup>1</sup> Lane Poole, *B.M.C.*, vol. i, p. 69, no. 167. The year 103 for a *Bukhārān* coin given by Tiesenhausen (*Notice sur la Collection Stroganoff*, p. 11) is a mistake for 193, as pointed out by Markoff (*Registre*, p. 18, note 2).

The coins of Bukhārān type therefore, with Amin's name, may have been a short-lived emergency issue about A.H. 193-195, if the above interpretation be true.

(ii) The only uncertain word in this legend is the third from the end, which has received various interpretations. In 1819 Fraehn (*Novae Symbolae*, pp. 45–6, Pl. II, no. 14) published the first known specimen of a coin (in the Nejelow Collection, Kazan) with this unusual legend. He proposed to read the doubtful word as خُمَال (or حُمَل) 'sincere friend'. Markoff (*Registre*, p. 15, note 6) regarded this interpretation as very plausible. Another, but even poorer, specimen in the Asiatic Museum at St. Petersburg, which he referred to in his book *Die Münzen der Chane von Ulus Dschutschis, &c.*, p. 53, left the problem just as obscure. Soret, in his *Lettre à M. François Duval* (p. 13), mentioned a new variety of this coin which, he believed, completed the legend on the Nejelow specimen. He stated that he distinctly read the word امين امير *Amin A'mir*, i.e. 'fidèle, curateur, affidé'. The phrase المؤمنين would thus mean 'Confidant of the Commander of the Faithful'. However, Soret does not illustrate his specimen, so that the doubtful word still remains uncertain. The title preceding this phrase, however, is decipherable. It is الْخَاقَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ *al-Khākān al-A'zam*, i.e. 'The Mightiest Khākān'. This name is a transcription into Arabic of the well-known Turkish regal title *Kaghan*, which, according to Barthold,<sup>1</sup> was already borne by the rulers of the earliest people who called themselves 'Turks' (sixth century A.D.). We find the title 'The Mightiest Khākān' appearing at a later date on coins of the Timūrids, Shaibānids, Mongols of Persia, &c. This fact has led those who have written about the present coin to attribute it to a late date, and the Sāmānid period has been chosen as the most likely. With this I cannot agree. The coin, it seems to me, in spite of its legend, has a close resemblance in style and fabric to the preceding coins of the 'Abbāsid governors of Bukhārā—and it is most unlikely that any great interval of time elapsed between them. If, then, this coin was not struck during the Caliphate of Amin (A.H. 193–198), at least it was probably issued under his successor Ma'mūn (198–218). About this period in the Transoxine provinces various nomadic tribes of Turkish ancestry were in evidence in the midst of the political disturbances. For the most part these tribesmen sided with the various rebels who arose in those troublous times. Amongst the heterogeneous tribal chieftains in the lands across

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article *Khākān*.

the Oxus of whom we read in the annals of the period are the Ikhshid of Sughd, the Afshin of Ushrūsana, the Jabghū of the Karluks, and the Khākān of the Tughuz-Ghuz (or Tokuz-Oghuz). It is therefore not surprising in the circumstances that the presence of these Turkish hordes should be reflected in the local coinage in the form of an outstanding Turkish title such as 'The Mightiest Khākān'. Who was the particular person, however, who was so designated on this coin issue? We can but guess. My own conjecture is that this particular coinage was issued under Ma'mūn. Perhaps permission was granted to 'The Mightiest Khākān' to do so, as a measure of appeasement at a time when Ma'mūn's attention was occupied by the quarrel with his brother Amin (c. A.H. 195). Whoever he was, he must have been a vassal of the 'Abbāsid Caliph, since their titles are associated in the legend. The nearest we can get at present to any certainty, is the following interpretation of the Arabic legend:

'In the name of Allah, Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah; The Mightiest Khākān, trusted one (?) of the Commander of the Faithful.'

#### V. Isolated Coins of Arab-Sassanian Type

The coins in this group have one feature in common; they are all enigmatic. Little need be added to what has already been pointed out concerning each in the course of the Notes (pp. 216-17).

The remarkable coin of Tabaristān type, however, which was issued at the mint of al-Raiy and dated 168 (Catalogue, p. 174) merits some attention. The reverse legend, which is in Arabic, is beyond dispute. Dorn (*Mélanges*, iv, p. 22 f. = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 475, no. 188) read this correctly—apart from some doubt regarding the mint-name—on a specimen in St. Petersburg. But he interpreted the puzzling obverse name-legend as 'Umar written in Pehlevi (AUMR). Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 107), following Dorn and Mordtmann, attributed it to 'Umar ibn al-'Alā, governor of Tabaristān (see above, p. lxxvi). Valentine (p. 105) did likewise. This is certainly wrong. Ghalib Edhem in his Catalogue (nos. 46 and 47) read the name as Arabic, *Asad* (ibn Yazid) **عَزِيزٌ بْنُ يَازِيدٍ**. Asad ibn Yazid ibn Mazyad was governor of Mosul in A.H. 184 and of Armenia in A.H. 185, but there is no record in the annalists of his having any connexion with al-Raiy, although coins of the regular Muhammadian series are known which were struck at Muhammadiya (i.e. al-Raiy) in 181 and 182 bearing a name which

may be read as Asad.<sup>1</sup> But epigraphically Ghalib Edhem's interpretation of the name-legend is not very convincing. It is tempting to read in the legend the name of Sa'd (سعد), a *maulā* of the Caliph al-Mahdī, who was actually in control of al-Raiy in A.H. 166, which is only two years earlier than the date on the coin.<sup>2</sup> This involves, however, regarding the first stroke (which is very slightly bent) as a crescent and embodying it with the small star to the right of the crown as the usual star and crescent. But this rendering is likewise open to objection on epigraphic grounds. In fact, the circle in the middle of the legend is not attached to the base line of the legend and appears to have no linguistic significance, and the final letter of the name is more like a Pehlevi than a Kufic character, so that if we take the legend as Pehlevi it makes an exact transcription (NSIR) of the Arabic proper name Nuṣair (نصر). This is the interpretation suggested by Markoff and adopted by Unvala.<sup>3</sup> But even so there is no record, so far as I am aware, of a governor of this name associated with al-Raiy at such a time, i.e. if we accept 168 as a Hijra date, as is most natural since it is written in Arabic. There is, however, a Nuṣair whose name appears in the year A.H. 168 on the coins of Mosul,<sup>4</sup> although his name does not figure amongst the governors of that place as given by Zambaur.<sup>5</sup> There may be some connexion. This may be the Nuṣair who on the death of the Caliph al-Mahdī (in A.H. 169) was wisely sent to Juriān by Hārūn al-Rashīd to carry the imperial seal and sceptre to his brother, the newly appointed Caliph al-Hādī.<sup>6</sup>

Why the particular type of coinage favoured in Tabaristān should have been imitated by a governor of al-Raiy can only be surmised; that there was a close bond between the adjacent provinces of Tabaristān and Jibāl in which al-Raiy was situated can be readily imagined. Unvala's opinion (p. 22, note) that this unique coin 'indiquerait la prétention de ce gouverneur sur la partie montagneuse du Tabaristān' is without justification.

It is interesting to find the mint-name al-Raiy revived in A.H. 168, when on the regular coins of the 'Abbāsids its new name of al-Muḥammadiya—in honour of the reigning Caliph Muhammad al-Mahdī—had been used since A.H. 148.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 70, no. 32 B, and p. 72, no. 83 J.

<sup>2</sup> This is the view propounded by Miles (*op. cit.*, pp. 47–8) and one which I was inclined to hold myself at one time until I considered Markoff's explanation.

<sup>3</sup> *Num. du Tabaristān*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> See *Nützel*, i, nos. 2158–9.

<sup>5</sup> *Manuel*, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibn al-Athīr*, v, pp. 59–60: وَجَهَ نَصِيرًا إِلَى امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْهَادِيِّ بِالخَاتَمِ وَالْقَضِيبِ . . . وَسَارَ نَصِيرُ الْوَصِيفِ إِلَى الْهَادِيِّ بِجَرْجَانِ فَلَمْ يَرْفَأْهُ الْمَهْدِيُّ وَالْبَيْهَقِيُّ

<sup>7</sup> See Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Al-Raiy is still found in A.H. 149 (*ibid.*, pp. 32–3).

## III. MINT NOTES

On most of the Arab-Sassanian coins described in this Catalogue the place of minting is indicated. With three exceptions—so far known—the mint, when expressed, is in Pehlevi, either in full or in an abbreviated form. The three exceptions may be noted first of all. They have the mint-name written in Arabic in Kufic script. They are as follows:

(a) Coins of Khusrau II type (see p. 23 of Catalogue) with the mint-name Dimishk (دمشق), i.e. *Damascus*, which was the Syrian capital of the Umayyad Caliphs. These coins, which were struck in the years A.H. 73 and 74, were no doubt purely experimental forerunners of the Reformed Coinage of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, which about this time came into circulation and ousted the Arab-Sassanian type in due course. It is not surprising in the circumstances that the attempt should have been made in the Umayyad capital. In fact, we actually have coins of the Damascus mint with the new Reformed Coinage type and legends dated in the succeeding year A.H. 75.<sup>1</sup>

(b) A coin (Catalogue, no. 245) of barbarous type, hitherto unpublished, on which there appears to be on the obverse margin in Arabic ضرب بزرج 'minted in Zaranj'. Zaranj was the capital of the province of Sistān, and its Pehlevi mint-signature (ZR, no. 57) is fairly common on the regular Arab-Sassanian coins (see below, p. cxxxii).

(c) Coins of Tabaristān type (Catalogue, p. 174) struck at the mint of al-Raiy (الري), which is also a frequently occurring mint-name in its Pehlevi form RD (no. 48) on the regular Arab-Sassanian coins issued there in the Umayyad period (see below, p. cxxvi).

As has been said, however, most of the mint-names on Arab-Sassanian coins are written in Pehlevi, sometimes in full, but more usually in the form of a mint-signature consisting of one or more—usually the initial—letters of the mint-name. Not all of these can be identified with absolute certainty. Indeed the interpretation of the mint-signatures on Sassanian and Arab-Sassanian coins—for the two are naturally related—has long been a thorny problem. The difficulty is largely due to the deficiency and ambiguity of the Pehlevi script, as can be seen from a glance at the table on p. cliii. A useful guide in any

<sup>1</sup> Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes*, i, p. 64, no. 184.

## INTRODUCTION

attempt at deciphering these mint-legends, however, is provided by our knowledge of the names of the mint-towns occurring on the Umayyad coins of the Reformed Currency, which are written in Arabic. As the Muhammadians altered little of the administrative system of the old Sassanian régime it is natural to suppose that, in the majority of cases at least, the mints were maintained by them as formerly before their invasion of the country. That this was so can be demonstrated in many instances, as can be seen from the list on p. exl f., below. But unfortunately not all the Arabic mint-names on Umayyad coins of the Reformed Currency can be equated with corresponding Pehlevi mint-signatures on Umayyad coins of the earlier Arab-Sassanian types, and vice versa. In some cases it is possible to conjecture, but until further enlightenment is forthcoming by the discovery of fresh numismatic or archaeological data we must be content to leave the matter in several cases in a state of uncertainty. Recently some new material, of the type that may conceivably settle the dubious cases once and for all, has been published by Prof. Ernst Herzfeld in the shape of Sassanian *bullae* collected by him in 'Irāk and Īrān.<sup>1</sup> Still more from recent finds await publication. These *bullae* are pieces of fine clay stamped with seal impressions, with designs and/or names. The ones that concern us particularly are the official seals bearing the names of important towns and provincial centres of administration, since such places were also very often mint-towns. The important fact that emerges from an examination of these Sassanian *bullae* is that the place-name is sometimes written in the centre of the seal in an abbreviated form, but is repeated round the margin in its full form. This provides us with a definite key to certain of the mint-signatures on the coins. For example, BISH on the coins (mint-signature no. 12) is clearly indicated as BISHĀPŪR on the seals; while ART on the coins (mint-signature no. 9) is established as ARDASHIR-KHURRA on the seals. It is to be hoped that more evidence of this nature will soon be forthcoming.

Until this happens we must utilize the data of the coins and the statements of the early historians and geographers<sup>2</sup> in determining the location of the various mints. Such a close and exhaustive study is still a *desideratum*. In the following mint notes, although several of the identifications of Pehlevi mint-signatures are quite certain, some are very questionable, while some are, I fear—in the present state of

<sup>1</sup> Reference should be made to his article in the *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, London, 1938, pp. 416–26.

<sup>2</sup> An important source utilized by the Arab geographers was the Pehlevi treatise Shahrhā ē Īrān, 'the Lands of Īrān', as Herzfeld has mentioned (*op. cit.*, p. 424).

our knowledge—quite beyond solution. For this reason I have refused on most occasions to mention the host of conjectural equivalents given by previous writers on the subject, particularly those of De Morgan (in *Rev. Num.*, 1913), which are almost entirely fanciful and in many cases impossible. Nevertheless, I have ventured myself occasionally to interpret in a new way certain doubtful mint-signatures (particularly nos. 8, 15, 23, 25, and 63) as well as to emend, in two notable instances, the long-established interpretation held by my predecessors of mint-signatures nos. 14 and 52. In these last, at least, I am convinced that I have been successful in the elucidation. All other suggestions are offered with the utmost reserve. In consequence the large number of queries in the Table on pp. cii–cv is not excessive in the circumstances.

### *Pehlevi Mint-Names and Signatures*

In the following notes the Pehlevi mint-signatures are referred to by the numbers in the Table:

- |                 |  |                            |
|-----------------|--|----------------------------|
| 1. APR          |  | <i>Abrashahr</i> (ابرشاھر) |
| 2. APRSH        |  |                            |
| 3, 3 a. APRSHT: |  |                            |

Also known as *Nīshāpūr* (نیشاپور *Naisābūr*, or *Nisābūr*), *Abrashahr* was the capital of one of the four quarters of the great Irānian province of Khurāsān. Its possession of a mint in Sassanian times is vouched for by the occurrence of its mint-signature (no. 1) on coins from Kobādh I (A.D. 488–531) until the time of Ardashīr III (A.D. 628–630). Under the Arabs its minting activities were continued, as the following numismatic data on the Arab-Sassanian coins of the Umayyads testify:

2. APRSH, Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 54 (A.H.)
1. APR, 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, year 60 (A.H.)
3. APRSHT:, Salm ibn Ziyād, years 63, 64 (A.H.)
3. APRSHT:, 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, years 65, 67, 68 (A.H.).
- 3 a.   ,,             ,,             ,,      year 69 (A.H.).

The earliest occurrence, so far known, of its Arabic name on the Reformed Coinage of conventional Muhammadan type is A.H. 92.<sup>1</sup>

The place was captured by the forces of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir (q.v.) in A.H. 30, when he was governor of Basra, but a few years later the Muhammadans were driven out for a short time. On its recapture

<sup>1</sup> Lavoix, *Catalogue*, i, p. 74, no. 232.

PEHLEVI MINT-SIGNATURES AND NAMES ON ARAB-SASSANIAN COINS

No.	Pehlevi Legend	Transliteration	Identification	Province
1		APR	Abrashahr	<u>Khurāsān</u>
2		APRSH	"	"
3		APRSHT:	"	"
3 a		"	"	"
4		AHM	Hamad <u>hān</u>	Jibāl
4 a		"	"	"
5		AIR	al-Sūs	<u>Khūzistān</u>
6		AIRA	"	"
7		AIRAN	"	"
8		ARJN	Arrajān	Fārs
9		ART	Ardashir- <u>Khurra</u>	"
9 a		"	"	"
10		ATRA	Adharbaijān	Adharbaijān
10 a		"	"	"
10 b		"	" ?	"
11		BH	Bihkobādh	'Irāk
11 a		"	"	"
12		BISH	Bishāpūr	Fārs
12 a		"	"	"
12 b		"	"	"
12 c		"	"	"
13		BJRA	al-Baṣra	'Irāk
14		BLH	Balkh	<u>Khurāsān</u>
14 a		"	"	"
15		BRM	Birāmkobādh	Fārs
15 a		"	"	"
16		BSH?	?	?

No.	Pehlevi Legend	Transliteration	Identification	Province
17	---۳	DA	Dārābjird	Fārs
18	---۳	DAR	"	"
19	---۳	DR	"	"
20	---۳	DAP	"	"
21	---۳	DARAW	"	"
22	---۳	DARAW - - ?	"	"
23	---۳	DSHT ?	Dasht-i-Maisān ?	'Irāk
24	---۳	HRA	Herāt	<u>Khurāsān</u>
24 a	---۳	"	"	"
24 b	---۳	"	"	"
25	---۴	HURA ?	<u>Khurāsān</u> ?	"
25 a	---۴	" ?	"	"
25 b	---۴	" ?	"	"
25 c	---۴	" ?	"	"
26	---۴	HURASAN	"	"
27	---۵	KNJA ?	Kanja ?	Arrān
28	---۶	KRMAN	Kirmān	Kirmān
28 a	---۷	KRMAN:	"	"
29	---۷	KRMAN - - - ?	"	"
30	---۷	KRMAN - - - ?	"	"
30 a	---۷	KRMAN - - ?	"	"
31	---۷	KRMAN - - - ?	"	"
32	---۷	KRMAN - - - ?	"	"
33	---۷	KRMANAN: ?	"	"
34	---۷	KRMANNHR ?	"	"
35	---۷	KRMANHP - ?	"	"
35 a	---۷	"	"	"
36	---۷	KRMANNAN - ?	"	"
37	---۷	KRMANBJ ?	"	"
38	---۷	KVAT ?	-kobādh	?

No.	Pehlevi Legend	Transliteration	Identification	Province
39 <sup>1</sup>	𐭩	MIB ?	?	?
40	𐭪	MR	Merv	<u>Khurāsān</u>
40 a	𐭪	"	"	"
41	𐭪	MRW	"	"
41 a	𐭪	"	"	"
41 b	𐭪	"	"	"
41 c	𐭪	"	"	"
42	𐭩𐭪	MRWRUT:	Merv al-Rūdh	"
42 a	𐭩𐭪	"	"	"
42 b	𐭩𐭪	"	"	"
42 c	𐭪	MRWRU(T)	"	"
43	𐭩	NH	Nihāvand	Jibāl
43 a	𐭩	"	(Māh al-Baṣra)	"
43 b	𐭩	"	"	"
44	𐭩	NHR	Nahr-Tīrā	<u>Khūzistān</u>
44 a	𐭩	"	"	"
44 b	𐭩	"	"	"
45	𐭩	NIH	Nihāvand	Jibāl
45 a	𐭩	NIH ?	(Māh al-Baṣra)	"
46	𐭩	PALHAN ?	?	?
47	𐭩	PIL ?	Fil ?	?
48	𐭩	RD	al-Raiy	Jibāl
48 a	𐭩	"	"	"
49	𐭩	SHI ?	al-Shīrajān ?	Kirmān
50	𐭩	SHUSH	al-Sūs (Susa)	<u>Khūzistān</u>
51	𐭩	SIZAJTAN ?	Sijistān	Sīstān
51 a	𐭩	SIZST(AN) ?	"	"
52	𐭩	SK	"	"
52 a	𐭩	"	"	"
52 b	𐭩	"	"	"

<sup>1</sup> See pp. exxii and 13, M. 12.

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No.	Pehlevi Legend	Transliteration	Identification	Province
52 c	𐭩	SK	Sijistān	Sistān
52 d	𐭩	"	"	"
53	𐭩	ST	Iṣṭakhr	Fārs
53 a	𐭩	"	"	"
53 b	𐭩	"	"	"
54	𐭩	TART ?	Ardashīr-Khurra ?	"
54 a	𐭩	" ?	" ?	"
55	𐭩	TPURSTAN	Tabaristān	Tabaristān
56	𐭩	ZANKĀN	Zanjān	Jibāl
57	𐭩	ZR	Zaranj	Sistān
57 a	𐭩	"	"	"
57 b	𐭩	"	"	"
58	𐭩	BN ?	?	?
59	𐭩	S ?	?	?
60	𐭩	BJ ?	?	?
60 a	𐭩	"	?	?
61	𐭩	ST ?	?	?
62	𐭩	ZANK ?	Cf. no. 56	?
62 a	𐭩	ZANKĀN ?	"	?
62 b	𐭩	ZANK ?	"	?
63	𐭩	APNURĀN ?	Ābnūrān ?	?
64	𐭩	SHAJĀ ?	?	?

during Mu'āwiya's reign, 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, reinstated as governor of Baṣra, appointed Kais ibn al-Haitham al-Sulamī as his lieutenant in command of the place in A.H. 42. After Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān had been appointed governor of Baṣra (in A.H. 45) he made Khulaid ibn 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī governor of Abrashahr (in A.H. 50). Ziyād was succeeded in turn as governor of Baṣra and its dependent provinces by his sons 'Ubaidallāh and Salm, a fact which is substantiated by the coins mentioned above. In A.H. 64 the Umayyad governor Salm was driven out by the Zubairid governor 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim who controlled the province of Khurāsān until his defeat and death in A.H. 72. The coins also corroborate this succession of governors.

Although other interpretations of the above mint-signatures have been proposed the one given here (first suggested by Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 124, no. 39) is the most probable. As has been demonstrated above, the numismatic and historic data support it. The above coins are obviously all dated in terms of the Hijra era.

#### 4, 4 a. AHM, *Hamadhān* (همدان)

The capital of one of the four divisions of the Jibāl Province, the ancient Media, Hamadhān was called under the Sassanians Ahmaḍān,<sup>1</sup> the Ecbatana of classical writers. The Muhammadan control of the city may be dated soon after the Battle of Nihāvand in A.H. 21, which was fought on the plain to the south-west. Examples of Arab-Sassanian coins from the Hamadhān mint are rare. The only ones known to me are:

Khusrau II type, years 26 and 31 (the latter date on the authority of Mordtmann only)

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 52 (A.H.).

The first two are no doubt dated in terms of the Yezdigird era (=A.H. 37 and 42), the last in terms of the Hijra era. Ziyād was Governor of Kūfa, as well as Baṣra, between the years A.H. 49 and 53, and in consequence the Jibāl Province was under his jurisdiction. The Hamadhān mint also later on issued coins of purely Muhammadan type, the earliest dated specimen being A.H. 90.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Pehlevi name in full (*AHMTAN*) on a Sassanian clay seal has recently been published by Prof. Herzfeld in the *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, London, 1938, p. 421, fig. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Lavoix, *Catalogue*, i, no. 360, p. 95.

5. AIR  
 6. AIRA } *al-Sūs* (السوس) ?  
 7. AIRAN }

Various interpretations of the above mint-signatures have been proposed, including the most natural one of identifying them with the name of the country Ērān (modern Irān). I have preferred, however, to accept Prof. Herzfeld's opinion<sup>1</sup> and regard it as the old town of Sūsa (in Arabic *al-Sūs*), the Biblical *Shushan*, under its official name Ērān-Xurrah-Šāhpūhr. *Al-Sūs*, at one time the capital of what became the province of Khūzistān, is known to us as an Umayyad mint on the coins of purely Muhammadian type as early as the year A.H. 80.<sup>2</sup> As we have no coins of Arab-Sassanian type with the Pehlevi name of Sūsa (SHŪSH)<sup>3</sup>—apart from the rare undated copper piece described below (p. 171)—it is natural to suppose that such an important mint must be concealed amongst the Pehlevi mint-signatures somewhere. The above group is a reasonable possibility.

The Arab-Sassanian coins with the above mint-signatures are known for the following dates :

5. AIR, Khusrau II type, years 25, 37  
 AIR, 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 29 and 59 (according to Mordtmann)  
 6. AIRA, 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, year 56 (according to Mordtmann)  
 7. AIRAN, 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 30, 31, 32, 60, and 61.

As 'Ubaidallāh was not appointed governor of Başra and its dependencies, in succession to his father, until A.H. 55, it is obvious that some of the above coins must be dated in an era other than the Hijra one. As for the coins with the name of Khusrau II they can obviously be dated either according to the Yezdigird era (which would make them A.H. 36 and 48) or according to the Hijra era, since *al-Sūs* was captured by the Muslims as early as A.H. 17. The coins with the mint-name AIRAN, dated 30–32, must be equated in terms of the Post-Yezdigird era, i.e. A.H. 62–64.

#### 8. ARJN, *Arrajān* (أرجان)

The above is an interpretation which I offer for the first time. The mint-name occurs on the coins of two governors only, namely, 'Abd

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Inter. Num. Congress*, p. 425. See also his recent article in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, ix (1938), p. 149. Streck also, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article *al-Sūs*, suggested that the abbreviation **س** on the Sassanian coins of Susiana might stand for Sūsa.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M.Cat.*, Add. ix. 34. 135.

<sup>3</sup> The name SHŪSH is not found on any Sassanian coins.

al-Rāḥmān ibn Ziyād, year 54 (A.H.) and al-Hakam ibn Abi'l-Āṣ, year 56 (A.H.).

I have endeavoured to show, under the mint-signature no. 15 below, that these two governors had other mints in common, one of which I have proposed to identify with *Birāmḳobādh* (برمقاد), which, I consider, occurs on Umayyad coins of the Reformed Currency. Tabarī has told us that this was another name for the town of Arrajān which, if written in Pehlevi, might quite well be represented as the above. Arrajān was the capital of the district of the same name in the province of Fārs. If the interpretations proposed are correct, the occurrence of both Arrajān and *Birāmḳobādh* on Arab-Sassanian coins is paralleled by that of Sīstān and Zarān (nos. 51, 52, and 57).

9, 9a. ART, *Ardashir-Khurra* (اردشیر خرّة)

Various interpretations of this commonly occurring mint-signature have been propounded. It must obviously represent a place of considerable importance. The identification of Professor Herzfeld,<sup>1</sup> as given above, seems to me the most satisfactory. *Ardashir-Khurra* was the chief of the five districts of the province of Fārs, the Persis of the Greeks. The first conquest of the district by the Arabs dates from about the year A.H. 23, but the province was reconquered some seven years later, though various other insurrections disturbed its peace for years afterwards. That the place was an Umayyad mint is vouched for by Muhammadan coins of conventional Arabic type dated as early as A.H. 80.<sup>2</sup> The coins of Arab-Sassanian type with this mint-signature are dated as late as A.H. 78. The Pehlevi abbreviation ART occurs on these coins as follows:

*Khusrau II* type, years 27, 29, and 39 (the last two on Mordtmann's authority)

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, year 73 (A.H.)

'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 65, 66, 67 (A.H.)

'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 47 (A.H.)

Salm ibn Ziyād, year 26 (P.-Y.E.) = A.H. 58

'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, years 68, 69, and 70 (A.H.)

Ḩumrān ibn Abān, year 72 (A.H.)

Kaṭārī ibn al-Fujā'a, year 75 (A.H.)

Muḥallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, year 76 (A.H.)

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Inter. Num. Congress*, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> H. Porter, 'Unpublished Coins of the Caliphate', in *Num. Chron.*, 1921, p. 317. I have since seen the actual coin, which is in the American University Collection, Beirut.

Ḩajjāj ibn Yūsuf, years 77 ?, 78, and 79 ? (A.H.)

Uncertain governor, years 69 ? and 75 ? (A.H.)

'Abd al-Rāḥmān (ibn 'Abdallāh ?), year 73 (A.H.). [See M. 54, p. 123.]

Most of these dates are obviously according to the Hijra reckoning. How closely they agree with already known historical data concerning the Caliphs and governors in question will be seen by a reference in each case to the Biographical Sketches given above (pp. xxxv f.). See also mint-signature no. 54.

10, 10 a, 10 b. ATRA, *Adharbajān* (أَذْرِبَيْجَان) ?

This is the identification proposed by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 125, no. 47, and p. 133, no. 102). If it is correct, it is not surprising that its mint-signature occurs so seldom on these Arab-Sassanian coins, since this distant mountainous province in the north-west of Īrān, first conquered about A.H. 28, was of little importance under the Umayyads. We know definitely, however, that during their régime *Adharbajān* was a mint-city, since we possess coins of the Reformed Currency dated A.H. 105,<sup>1</sup> on which the name is found.

The following are the Arab-Sassanian coins bearing the above mint-signature :

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 62 and 63 (A.H.)

'Abd al-Rāḥmān ibn 'Abdallāh (an uncertain governor) has perhaps the same signature, but the date is questionable.

'Ubaidallāh's coins are obviously dated according to the Hijra reckoning since he was driven out of Baṣra in A.H. 64.

11, 11 a. BH ? *Bihkubādh* (بِهَكُبَادْ) ?

In the province of 'Irāk there were three districts of this name :

(a) Upper (العلیٰ *al-A'lā*), (b) Middle (الوسط *al-Awsat*), and (c) Lower (الأسفل *al-Asfal*) *Bihkubādh*. On the Umayyad coins of the Reformed Currency examples are known of the two last mint-names and dated A.H. 90.<sup>2</sup> In all probability this mint-signature should be identified with one or other of these districts.

<sup>1</sup> Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*, Pl. II. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Bihkubādh al-Asfal* appears on a coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Lavoix*, no. 247) as well as on one in the former Khedivial Library, Cairo (Lane-Poole's *Catalogue*, no. 84); while *Bihkubādh al-Awsat* is known to me from a coin, of which a cast was kindly sent me by the late Mr. Howland Wood, in the American Numismatic Society Collection, New York. The latter is, so far as I am aware, unpublished.

On the Arab-Sassanian coins we have the following occurrences :

Khusrau II type, year 35

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 60 and 61 (A.H.).

The first date may be either according to the Hijra or the Yezdigird era, more probably the latter ; the other two dates are certainly in terms of the Hijra reckoning, since 'Ubaidallāh was made governor of Kūfa and its dependencies in the year A.H. 60.

12, 12 a, 12 b, 12 c. BISH, *Bishāpūr* or *Sābūr* (سَبُور)

This mint-signature is one of those whose interpretation has been placed beyond all doubt by the discovery of Sassanian *bullae* with the name written both in an abbreviated and in a complete form.<sup>1</sup> Mordtmann had previously, however, suggested this interpretation (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 121). *Bishāpūr* was the capital of one of the five districts (or *kūras*) of the province of Fārs. Under its later Arabic name *Sābūr* (سَبُور) it appears as a mint-town on the Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Currency as early as A.H. 80.<sup>2</sup>

On the Arab-Sassanian coins it is one of the commonest of mint-signatures as can be seen from the following occurrences :

Khusrau II type, years 25, 26, 38 ?, 39 ?, 41 ?, 42 ?, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 25 ?, 47 ?, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54 (A.H.)

'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 44 (A.H.)

'Abdallāh, years 42 ?, 44 (A.H.)

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 51 (= A.H. 63), 53 (= A.H. 65)

'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abdallāh, year 66 (A.H.)

'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, years 67, 68, 69, 70 (A.H.)

Mukātil ibn Misma', years 71, 72 (A.H.)

Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh, years 71, 73 ?, 74 (A.H.)

Kaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a, years 69, 75 (A.H.)

Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, years 75, 76 (A.H.)

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad, year 82 (A.H.)

Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, years 76, 77, 78, 79, 80 ?, 81, 83 (A.H.).

Most of the above dates are expressed in Hijra years. The coins of 'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir) dated 44 must have been struck during the last year of his term of office as governor of Baṣra and its dependent provinces. As for the coins of 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, they are most probably dated in the Yezdigird era (i.e. A.H. 63 and 65) since he was

<sup>1</sup> See Herzfeld, *Trans. Inter. Num. Congress*, p. 418, fig. 6.

<sup>2</sup> P. Casanova, *Inventaire Sommaire de la Collection des Monnaies musulmanes de S. A. la Princesse Ismail*, Paris, 1896. I have seen the coin in question in the Arab Museum, Cairo. Lavoix (*Catalogue*, i, no. 195) has mention of one dated A.H. 82.

not governor of Başra until A.H. 55, and his appointment to the dual command of Kūfa and Başra was not until A.H. 60, and he was killed in A.H. 67. The coins of the other governors follow in a natural sequence if Hijra dates. The coins of Kaṭarī, the heretical rebel Caliph, and those of his conqueror Muḥallab, are significantly dated. So also are those of 'Abd al-Rahmān and Ḥajjāj. It was in the neighbourhood of Bishāpūr that the campaign between them was waged for a time. It is of some interest also to note that the old Arab-Sassanian type of coin continued to be struck at this mint under Ḥajjāj and 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad contemporaneously with the new type of Reformed Currency without effigies and with Arabic legends only. (See list, p. exl, under Sābūr.)

### 13. BJRĀ, *al-Baṣra* (البصرة)

The interpretation of this mint-name is beyond any doubt. Baṣra, one of the two great garrison-cities founded by the Arab conquerors in 'Irāk, whose governors were to dominate the Eastern Provinces of the new Caliphate, was built about A.H. 16 (A.D. 637). In consequence its name occurs for the first time on Arab-Sassanian coins. The occurrences are as follows :

- Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 51 or 53, 55 (A.H.)
- 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 51, 52, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64
- Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, year 66? (A.H.)
- Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh, year 75 (A.H.)
- 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh?, year 65? (A.H.).

All the above were governors of Baṣra. Ziyād's coin dated 55 is perhaps a posthumous issue (see p. xlili f.). As Ziyād was still alive and governor of Baṣra in A.H. 53 it follows that the early coins of his son 'Ubaidallāh struck at the Baṣra mint must be dated in the Yezdigird era (i.e. 51 and 52 = A.H. 63 and 64. Cf. analogous case of Bishāpūr above). The other dates are all obviously in the Hijra era. Khālid was deposed in A.H. 75, while Muṣ'ab was appointed about A.H. 66 or 67. The existence of the coin of 'Umar is very problematic, but would agree with historic facts.

With the exception of an erratic coin of conventional Muḥammadan type, dated A.H. 40, in Paris,<sup>1</sup> the earliest occurrence of the mint of

<sup>1</sup> Considerable controversy has taken place over this coin, which is published by Lavoix in his *Catalogue*, no. 158. I hope to be able to deal with this coin in a subsequent volume of this Catalogue. The date is certainly due to a mistake on the part of the die-engraver.

Baṣra on Muhammadan coins of non-Arab-Sassanian type is in the year A.H. 79.<sup>1</sup>

14, 14 a. BLH, *Balkh* (بلخ)

The customary rendering of this mint-signature—which is of fairly common occurrence on Sassanian coins—has been BBA, and has usually been regarded as indicating the great winter residence of the Sassanian monarchs on the Tigris, which they called *Medinathā*, ‘the Cities’, the name which the Arabs passed on as *al-Madā'in* (المدائن). Here had been the twin capitals of the Seleucids, Ctesiphon and Seleucia. Ctesiphon, we know, appeared in Sassanian times under the ideographic form *dar*, i.e. ‘the Sublime Porte’, a meaning which can certainly be paralleled in BBA or in the Arabic *al-Bab*, ‘the Door’ (*par excellence*). But there are strong arguments adducible against such an identification: (a) After the Arab conquest of ‘Irāk, about A.H. 16, Ctesiphon sank into insignificance and the new Islamic foundation of Kūfa some miles away took its place as a centre of administration. (b) We have coins of this mint issued by the last Sassanian monarch Yezdigird III dated in the final year of his reign (A.H. 31), which is a considerable time after *Medinathā* was in the possession of the Arabs. (c) As Yezdigird’s last stand was made in the *Khurāsān* province the mint in dispute is likely to have lain in that region. (d) Moreover, supporting this last point, there is the fact that almost all the Arab governors we know to have struck coins with the above mint-signature were in charge of territories towards the Eastern districts of Irān, and all their other mints are actually located there. These considerations would lead us to conclude that wherever the mint lay it cannot have been in ‘Irāk. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1852, p. 391) actually wished to locate it in a suburb of the city of Merv. An objection to this, however, would be the fact that the same governors who issued coins with the mint-name in question have also coins with the mint-name of Merv (MRW, no. 41).

It has occurred to me that if we regard the middle letter of the above Pehlevi signature as being the letter which stands for R or L, the name appears quite startlingly as BLH, and supplies us with the very name of the great metropolis of the *Khurāsān* province, which, incidentally, is otherwise unknown on Arab-Sassanian—or, for that matter, Sassanian—coins, a fact which is surprising considering the city’s undoubted importance, not to mention its existence as an Umayyad mint

<sup>1</sup> Lavoix, *Catalogue*, no. 174. A similar specimen has recently been added to the British Museum Collection.

on the Reformed Coinage. If objection be made to the unusual form of the letter R or L compare the following parallels:

BLH (no. 14)

HURASAN (no. 26) and HURA (no. 25)

RD (no. 48)

APRSHT: (no. 3)

MRW (no. 41)

PIL (no. 47)

It seems to me that the above interpretation is by no means fanciful although it upsets a long-established opinion.

The following are the Arab-Sassanian coins struck at this mint:

'Ubaiddallāh ibn Ziyād, year 62 (A.H.)

Salm ibn Ziyād, year 67 ? or 68 ? (A.H.)

'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, years 67 and 68 (A.H.)

Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, year 77 (A.H.).

All the above dates are obviously in terms of the Hijra era. Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, we know from the annalists, was governor of Khurāsān in A.H. 77. His coins are in agreement with this, as well as being in support of the above mint interpretation.

### 15, 15 a. BRM, *Birāmkubādh* or *Birāmkobādh* (برمکاد)

This mint-signature is only known from two coins which are published in the present Catalogue for the first time. The above interpretation is made on the present writer's responsibility. It was arrived at by the following process of reasoning. Amongst the Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Currency we have examples of a rare mint which in its Kufic script is as follows . Various interpretations of this legend have been made by oriental numismatists, but no suitable geographical location was arrived at. Fraehn, *Numi Kufici* (1823), p. 30, Pl. XIX, no. 2, published the first specimen dated A.H. 80, and read the mint-name as *Beremkobad* with a query and without succeeding in locating any such place. This was repeated by Moeller, *De Numis Orientalibus* (1826), i, p. 90, without comment. Dorn, *Additamenta*, i, p. 219, no. 33 a, mentioned another example dated A.H. 93. Stickel (in his *Handbuch*, 1845, i, p. 9) proposed an absurd attribution to Balkh. In 1859 Bartholomaei in his first *Lettre à M. Soret* in *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* (pp. 331-2, Pl. XIV, fig. 1) suggested reading Nerim Kobad (which

Stickel in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1862, p. 780, tried to locate). Tiesenhausen (*Catalogue*, 1873, nos. 287 and 389, and additions on pp. 298–9, Pl. II, no. 8) added nothing to the elucidation. Lavoix (*Catalogue*, 1887, i, nos. 172 and 173) published two further specimens, one of which was dated A.H. 79, the earliest recorded date. He suggested the reading *Bezm̄kobād* (بزمقابد) and endeavoured, but very unsatisfactorily, to locate a place of that name. This rendering was accepted by Stickel (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1884, p. 690). The coin in the Princesse Ismail Collection, now in the Arab Museum, Cairo, dated A.H. 95, and said by Casanova (*Inventaire Sommaire*, 1896, p. iv and p. 4, no. 107) to be of uncertain mint is, as I have found after an examination of the coin itself, also of the above mint. A further example dated A.H. 90 was published in 1921 (*Num. Chron.*, p. 318) by Porter from the Collection of the American University of Beirut. He adopted the rendering *Narimkobād*. Zambaur (*Wien. Num. Zeit.*, 1922, pp. 4–5) in reviewing Porter's article preferred to follow Lavoix and Stickel. He went further, however, and identified the place with the *Bezkobad* (بزقاد) or *Abezkobād* (أبيقاد) of the Arabic geographer Yākūt (i. 605), who placed it in 'Irāk not far from Maisān and Dasht-i-Maisān, both of which are, in fact, also Umayiad mints. Zambaur regarded *Bezkobād* as a misspelling of *Bezm̄kobād*.<sup>1</sup> That there has been a great deal of confusion in the spelling and location of this place is evident from the varying statements in the Arabic geographers and historians, e.g. we have *Yākūt*, (يأكاذب) *ابرقاذ* (*Marāṣid al-Itṭilā'*). It has been placed : (a) between Maisān and Dasht-i-Maisān; (b) between Başra and Wāsit; (c) near al-Madhār, capital of Maisān district; and (d) it has been identified with Arrajān in the province of Fārs.

Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, p. 41) has emended the name to *(Iz̄kubādh)* and derived it from an earlier form *(Izadkubādh)*. He pointed out that the name has been frequently confused in the traditions with the official title of Arrajān, where the Sassanian king *Kobād* (or *Kubādh*) settled certain prisoners of war from Āmid. The Pehlevi title of this settlement was, according to him, *Weh Amīd-i-Kawād*, i.e. 'Good (or better) Āmid of *Kobād*', contracted to *Wāmkubādh* (وامقابذ), or simply *Amidkubādh* (امدقابذ). This, he states (f.n. 1, p. 42) ought to be the emendation made to the form of the name in Ṭabarī (i, p. ۸۸۷–۸۸۸), viz. *Rāmkubādh* (رامقابذ) or *Ramkubādh* (رمقابذ). On the contrary, it

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed Ziya (*Cat. of Islamic Coins*, pp. 4 and 165) records two coins of the year 80, whose mint-names he reads as *bezm̄qbad* (*bezm̄qubād*) and *bezm̄qbad élésa* (*bezm̄qubād ulesa*).

seems to me that the form in Tabarī gives us, in fact, the clue to the name on the Umayyad coins. By restoring the prefix *bi* (ب) we get the full name *Birāmkubādh* بِرَمْقَادْ or in *scriptio defectiva* بِرَمْقَادْ. Cf. *Bishāpur* and *Shāpur* which may, it seems to me, be a possible interpretation of the mint-name. Moreover the rare mint-signature *BRM* on Arab-Sassanian coins, which we are now considering, would be an admirable equivalent. What then can the coins with this mint-abbreviation tell us?

(1) It occurs so far only on the coins of two governors, viz.: (a) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād; and (b) al-Hakam ibn Abi'l-'Āṣ. A collation of the mint occurrences in these two cases is very instructive:

(a) 'Abd al-Rahmān's mints and dates, as so far known, are:

- No. 8. AR᠁N, year 54
- No. 60. BJ, years 52, 53
- No. 15. BRM, year 54
- No. 44. NHR, year 54.

(b) al-Hakam's mints and dates, as so far known, are:

- No. 8. AR᠁N ?, year 56
- No. 15. BRM, year 58
- No. 44. NHR, year 56
- No. 47. PIL, years 56 and 57 ?

(2) It is obvious that these two governors, who must have followed close on each other, had jurisdiction over more or less the same area, although each has a mint which the other has not got, viz. BJ and PIL respectively. The other three mints are common to both. No. 44, NHR, is almost certainly *Nahr-Tirā* (نهر تیر), which is an Umayyad mint of the Reformed Currency (see below, p. cxli) and is in *Khūzistān*. The other places are consequently to be looked for in the same neighbourhood. If my interpretation of no. 15 is correct, then *Birāmkubādh*, if it is equivalent to Arrajān, is only across the *Khūzistān* frontier in the province of Fārs. It is also significant that mint-signature no. 8, according to my interpretation, gives us the Pehlevi equivalent of Arrajān (i.e. AR᠁N), a mint-name that is confined to the above-mentioned governors.

Let us see what Tabarī says (in the passage quoted above):

فِي حَدَّ مَا بَيْنَ فَارِسَ وَارْضَ الْاهُوازِ مَدِينَةٌ  
وَسَمَّاها رَامْقَادْ وَهِيَ الَّتِي تُسَمَّى بِرَمْقَادْ  
وَتُدْعَى أَيْضًا أَرْجَانٌ

'On the border between Fārs and Khūzistān [lit. land of the *Huz*] is a city named *Rāmkubādh* or *Biramkubādh* also called *Arrajān*.'

*Rāmkubādh*, or in its fuller form *Birāmkubādh*, has to be identified then with Arrajān. Whether this name has arisen from an earlier *Wāmkubādh*, with a still earlier history as Marquart has outlined, is a matter for the philologist and the historian of place-names. It seems to me at all events that with the evidence at our disposal it is quite feasible to equate the BRM of the Arab-Sassanian coins with the mint-name on the later Reformed Currency, which can without any difficulty be read, as I have proposed, *Birāmkubādh*.

#### 16. BSH?

This mint-signature is of uncertain attribution; it may, in fact, be a badly written BISH (no. 12).<sup>1</sup> Its occurrences are few: 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 51?, 58?, 59? 60 (A.H.) and Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, year 68 (A.H.). [See M. 48, p. 103.]

17. DA	} <i>Dārābjird</i> (درابرد)
18. DAR	
19. DR	
20. DAP	
21. DARAW	
22. DARAW - - ?	

There can be no doubt about the correctness of attribution of the above mint-signatures. On Sassanian coins there is an even more complete rendering of the name درابرد, i.e. DARAPKR(T). The above, however, are the only forms occurring on Arab-Sassanian coins.

Dārābjird, the name of one of the five districts of the province of Fārs, and also of its chief town, must be reckoned as a very important mint, as can be judged from its frequent appearance on these coins. In the Umayyad Reformed Currency it appears under its Arabic name, دربَرْد (*sic*) Dārābjird, in the years A.H. 80 and 90-98, after which it disappears from Muhammadan coins completely.<sup>2</sup> On the Arab-Sassanian coins so far known to us its minting activities can be gauged from the following summary:

<sup>1</sup> In the older cursive Pehlevi the letter *—* (B) is sometimes joined to the succeeding letter, as apparently in this case (see Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, i, p. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Its modern name *Darāb* is actually used by an Umayyad poet, and corresponds to mint-signature no. 21 (see Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 93, f.n. 3). The date 80 occurs on an unpublished dirham in Sir Richard Burn's Collection, Oxford, which I hope to reproduce in a subsequent volume of this Catalogue.

17. Khusrau II type, years 30, 41, and 46?
  - Mu'awiya, year 41
  - 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, years 60 and 65 (= A.H. 72 and 77)
  - 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 53, 54, 56, 57, and 60 (= A.H. 65, 66, 68, 69, and 72)
  - Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 41 (= A.H. 52/3)
  - 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 41 (A.H.)
  - 'Abdallāh, year 41 (A.H.)
  - 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 26? (P.-Y.E. = A.H. 58?), 41, 43?, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52
  - Salm ibn Ziyād, year 26 (P.-Y.E. = A.H. 58?)
  - Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra; year 76 (A.H.)
  - 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad, year 70 (= A.H. 82).
18. Mu'awiya, year 41
  - Samura ibn Jundab, year 41.
19. Khusrau II type, year 30
  - Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 43 (= A.H. 55)
  - 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 41 (A.H.)
  - 'Abdallāh, year 41 (A.H.).
20. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 54 and 56 (= A.H. 66 and 68).
21. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, year 60 (= A.H. 72)
  - 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, year 60 (= A.H. 72).
22. Kaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a, year 75 (A.H.).

As can be seen, most of the dates on the coins issued from the Dārābjird mint are expressed in the Yezdigird era. In the case of 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād and his brother Salm, the post-Yezdigird era must be implied to explain the early date 26. The era on the coins of Khusrau II type is ambiguous as usual. As 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir was governor of Baṣra and its dependencies, including Dārābjird, in A.H. 41, his coins are obviously according to the Muhamadan era. The coins of the Caliph Mu'awiya begin with the year of his succession, and are, therefore, most likely to be dated according to the Hijra era, though a date in terms of the Yezdigird era is not out of the question. As 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān did not become Caliph until A.H. 65 his Dārābjird coins must be dated according to the era of Yezdigird. It is not surprising that the coins of the fanatic anti-Caliph Kaṭarī are unquestionably Muhamadan in their chronology.

### 23. DSHT?, *Dasht-i-Maisān?* (دشت میسان)

I have suggested the above interpretation as a possibility only. The name is found on an Umayyad coin of the Reformed Currency minted in the year A.H. 80 (see f.n., p. cxl). Its occurrence on Arab-Sassanian coins is by no means common:

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 52 (A.H.)  
 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 56, 61 ?, 62, 63, 64 (A.H.)  
 Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, year 67 (A.H.).

The date on the coin of Muṣ'ab is significant. In A.H. 66–67 he was appointed by his brother as governor of Baṣra, in the neighbourhood of which lay the town of Dasht-i-Maisān. The last date on 'Ubaidallāh's coins indicates also approximately the period when he must have lost control of this mint to the partisans of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair and his brother Muṣ'ab.

24, 24 a, 24 b. HRA, *Herāt* (هراط)

There seems to me to be no reasonable doubt that the above mint-name is to be identified with the important town of Herāt, now in Afghanistan, but in Umayyad times the capital of one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān. De Morgan<sup>1</sup> rather absurdly argues against this identification on the grounds that a coin of Salm ibn Ziyād credited with this mint-name and dated 26 (see Catalogue, p. 76) could not have been struck at Herāt since that place was not in the possession of the Arabs in A.H. 26. But there is no reason to regard such a date as in terms of the Hijra era. In fact, if we take it as a date according to the Yezdigird era, i.e. = A.H. 37, there is no difficulty whatsoever, since Herāt was captured during 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir's expedition into Khurāsān in A.H. 30. But a very strong piece of evidence in support of the Herāt mint is the fact that we have coins of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim with the above signature dated 67. As we know that the latter was appointed governor by his father, who had subdued Herāt (A.H. 64–65), and that he died not long afterwards, it is certain that any coins he struck would most naturally bear the name of Herāt. Moreover, we know that Herāt was an Umayyad mint, since we have coins of the Reformed Currency with its Arabic name هراط dated between the years A.H. 90 and 99.<sup>2</sup>

Arab-Sassanian coins with the above mint-name are known for the following governors :

'Ubaidallāh (ibn Ziyād), years 52 ? and 56 (A.H.)  
 Salm ibn Ziyād, years 67, and 69 (A.H.)  
 Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, year 67 (A.H.)  
 Kahtan ?, year 67 ? (A.H.).

<sup>1</sup> 'Ateliers monétaires des Sassanides', in *Rev. Num.*, 1913, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. i, no. 167, p. 26.

25, 25 a, 25 b, 25 c. HURA?, *Khurāsān?* خراسان?

These mint-signatures have not so far been satisfactorily identified. Thomas has read the first of these<sup>1</sup> as *Khubus*, but without being able to locate any such place. The others appear to be a variant of the same name. The fact that the first is found on the coins of 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, governor of *Khurāsān*, and also on the coins of Arab-Ephthalite type—as I have termed them—indicates the region in which we ought to look for the enigmatic mint. I have proposed to see in the signature a form of the Pehlevi name for the province of *Khurāsān*, which we have in full on some coins (see below, no. 26), viz. HURA for HURASAN. If it be pointed out that the Pehlevi letter **ء** is a b and not an r, it can be said in reply that it is not unlike the r in the mint-signature RD (**ر د**) (see no. 48, below). (See also note on BLH, no. 14, above, p. cxiii.)

The occurrences of these problematic legends on Arab-Sassanian coins are as follows:

'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, year 63

Arab-Ephthalite coins (ascribed to 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim), years 63, 68, and 69.

These are, of course, Hijra dates.

Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, year 64 (= A.H. 76).

This date is almost certainly in terms of the Yezdigird era (see pp. lvii f.).

26. HURASAN, *Khurāsān* (خراسان)

In the Umayyad period this great Eastern Province of the Caliphate extended from Kūhistān and Sīstān to the borders of Transoxiana. The first Muhammadan invasion of *Khurāsān* began about the years A.H. 30–32 when an expeditionary force under Dāhhāk ibn Kāis was dispatched there by 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, then governor of Baṣra. But frequent insurrections marked its subsequent history. A second invasion of the province about the year A.H. 42 is recorded, following the establishment of the Umayyad power in the person of the Caliph Mu'āwiya. Once again 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, the re-appointed governor of Baṣra, directed the necessary operations. But it was his successor, the astute Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, who really laid the foundations of Arab control in the province, though revolts continued to break out periodically. The suppression of one of these in A.H. 51 by Rabi' ibn

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1850, p. 300.

Ziyād al-Hārithī, when he drove out an Ephthalite army, is of interest to us here because of the remarkable Arab-Ephthalite coin described on p. 127 which I have tentatively attributed to this governor. On the death of Ziyād his policy in Khurāsān was ably upheld by his three sons, who in turn governed the province, particularly 'Ubaiddallāh and Salm. The province of Khurāsān in these days was administered from the great provincial cities of Abrashahr (Naisabūr), Balkh, Herāt, Merv, and Merv al-Rūdh, a fact which is reflected in Salm's mints of APRSHT (no. 3), BLH (no. 14), HRA (no. 24), MRW (no. 41), and MRWRUT (no. 42). In the year A.H. 64 the then governor of Khurāsān, 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, abandoned the Umayyad cause in favour of that of the rival Caliph 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, and managed to control the province in revolt until his defeat at the Battle of Merv in A.H. 72.

The full name of Khurāsān nowhere occurs on either the regular Sassanian coins or on those Umayyad coins of the Reformed Currency. The only record, in fact, of its use on the Arab-Sassanian coinage is in the case of Umāiya ibn 'Abdallāh's coin dated A.H. 74.<sup>1</sup> Whether the name in an abbreviated shape appears as mint-signature no. 25, 25 a-c, is a debatable point (see above, p. cxix). Other instances in this series are known of the use both of the name of a province as well as that of its chief town or towns, e.g. Sīstān (no. 51) as well as its capital Zarān (no. 57); Arrajān (no. 8) and its capital Birāmkobādh (no. 15).

### 27. KNJĀ?, Kanja or Ganja (گنج)

I am by no means confident about this identification which was proposed by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 131, no. 95), but I can suggest nothing more feasible. The place is in the province of Arrān to the north-west of Īrān. As it is, its only appearance is on a coin reported, but not illustrated, by Mordtmann, with the name of 'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir) and dated 40 (see Catalogue, M. 32, p. 51).

### 28-37. KRMĀN, &c., Kirmān (کرمان)

This mint-name—alone, or in conjunction with endings of uncertain import—is of frequent occurrence on Arab-Sassanian coins. The province of Kirmān, or its capital, is obviously indicated. None of its territorial sub-divisions can be with any certainty discerned amongst

<sup>1</sup> The Pehlevi form *KNJĀ* HURASAN, however, is already known on the coins of Khusrāu II type with flaming halo (see Sir Alexander Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 291, and Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, 1938, p. 154).

the other Arab-Sassanian mint-signatures or suffixes, unless perhaps al-Širajān (no. 49). Lying on the main trade routes from Fārs to Sīstān and beyond to Khurāsān and India, this province was strategically of some importance. The first Arab invasion of this region was under Rabi' ibn Ziyād (c. A.H. 19). Another expedition about the same time was made by 'Uthmān ibn Abi'l-'Āṣ, brother of al-Hakam (q.v.), from the direction of the Persian Gulf. But the conclusion that there was little real success attending these ventures may be deduced from the fact that coinage does not begin to appear before A.H. 59. As an Umayyad mint of the Reformed Coinage it is known from the year A.H. 90.<sup>1</sup>

The occurrences of the various mint-signatures are as follows:

- 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 56 ?, 59, 60, 61, and 62
- 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, and 69
- 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, year 65
- Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, years 69, 70 ?, 71, and 72 ?
- 'Atīya ibn al-Aswad, years 72, 73, 74, and 75
- Muhallab ibn Abī Šufra, years 76, 77, and 78.

All the above dates are in terms of the Hijra era. The coins fairly represent the history of the mint as well as the vicissitudes of the Umayyad cause. The revolt of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair and the overthrow of the Umayyad governor 'Ubaidallāh are clearly represented. We also note the Zubairid supporters in the person of 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh ibn Mi'mar and Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair in possession of the mint. The latter succeeded the former as governor of Baṣra and its dependencies—including Kirmān—in the year A.H. 66/67. His last dated coin A.H. 72 also marked the year of his death. The historians' report regarding the subsequent revolt of the religious sectarian 'Atīya ibn al-Aswad in Kirmān Province, and his defeat by the loyalist forces of Muhallab, is also corroborated by the above coin evidence.

### 38. KVAT ?, -kobādh (?) - قباد -

The only suggestion that I can offer regarding this mint-signature is that it conceals the name of some place associated with the Sassanian monarch Kobādh, after whom many towns were named. Even if this hypothesis be correct, however, there still remains the problem of its location. It might possibly have been in the district of Kobādh-Khurra in the province of Fārs. The sole occurrence of the name is on coinage of Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān dated A.H. 52 (no. 66, p. 45).

<sup>1</sup> Lane Poole, *Cat. of Oriental Coins*, i, p. 23, no. 142.

## 39. MIB?

Mordtmann identified this with Meibud in Kirmān. As its appearance on Arab-Sassanian coins is confined to a single example of the Khusrau II type dated 35, which is reported solely on Mordtmann's authority, it can scarcely demand any serious consideration from us here. [See M. 12, p. 13.]

40, 40 a.	MR	}	Merv (مر)
41, 41 a, 41 b, 41 c.	MRW		

Merv (or Marw), the capital of one of the quarters of the province of Khurāsān, was a great emporium on the trade-route from Īrān to Turkestan and the Chinese territories beyond. The Arabs captured it in A.H. 31, that is, in the twentieth year of the era of Yezdigird III, who perished in that very year in the neighbourhood of the city. Thereafter it was the centre of government and the rallying point for the early Islamic raids, such as those of Salm ibn Ziyād, into Transoxiana. The abbreviation of the town-name MR (no. 40) was commonly used on Sassanian coins—from the time of Bahrām V. On the early Arab-Sassanian dirhams this is also the form employed, e.g.

Yezdigird III type, year 20 = A.H. 31

Khusrau II type, years 21, 25, and 48, i.e. probably A.H. 32, 36, and 60.

But a complete rendering of the name MRW (no. 41) in course of time came into use under the Muḥammadans on their coins, e.g.

Salm ibn Ziyād, years 62, 63, 64, 65, 66 ?, 67 ?, 68 ?, 69, and 70

'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, years 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68 ?, 69, 70, 72, and 73

Arab-Ephthalite (ascribed to the latter), year 69

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, year 75.

These are all Hijra dates. Salm was definitely in control of the province of Khurāsān from A.H. 60 to 64, although the Zubairid governor 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim disputed the honour with him from the year A.H. 63 onwards until his death in A.H. 72 or 73. That is why both antagonists have coins of the same years from the same mint struck in support of their respective claims. The coin of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān marks the end of the internece struggle and the restoration of the Umayyads to power.

The introduction of the new Reformed Coinage under this Caliph is testified by coins of the new Muḥammadan type struck at Merv as early

as A.H. 73<sup>1</sup> so that both types overlapped. Moreover, even on the new type the Pehlevi mint-name survives alongside of the Arabic legends.<sup>2</sup>

42, 42 a, 42 b, 42 c. MRWRUT, *Merv al-Rūdh* (مرو الروذ)

About midway between Herāt and Merv, in the province of Khurāsān, lay the important city of Merv al-Rūdh, 'Merv of the River'. Although it does not appear as a mint-town on the Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Coinage, it was certainly possessed of a mint under the earlier governors of Khurāsān, who issued coins of Arab-Sassanian type. The known instances are :

Salm ibn Ziyād, years 63, 64, 67 ?, and 70 (A.H.)

'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, year 69 (A.H.)

Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, year 64 (= A.H. 76 ?).

As in the case of the coins of Merv mentioned above, the coinage struck at Merv al-Rūdh also indicates the double claim of Salm and 'Abdallāh to the possession of mint-control in this region. Their coins are dated according to the Hijra reckoning. In the case of Umaiya, who was a loyal supporter of the Umayyad cause, we must conclude from the above coin either (a) that he was a sub-governor of Khurāsān under Salm the Umayyad governor, for which there is no evidence in the historians, or else (b) that the coin is dated in terms of the Yezdigird era and was struck in the year A.H. 76, at a time when we know from the annals that this governor was actually in charge of this province. The latter is the more probable conclusion.

Merv al-Rūdh in its Pehlevi form also occurs as a countermark (nos. 41 and 47). See p. cxliv.

43, 43 a, 43 b. NH, *Nihāvand* = *Māh al-Baṣra* (ماه البصرة)

*Nihāvand* (نیواند) in the Jibāl Province was renamed under the Umayyads *Māh al-Baṣra*, because its revenues were allotted to the payment of pensions for the soldiers from Baṣra. Under its new name it occurs as a mint-town on the Reformed Coinage from the year A.H. 79.<sup>3</sup> Nihāvand occupied an important place in the early annals of Islam, because near the town was fought the famous battle which decided the

<sup>1</sup> Lavoix (*Catalogue*, i, no. 202).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Lane-Poole, *B.M. Catalogue, Additions*, i, p. 35, no. 156 q.

<sup>3</sup> Hitherto unpublished coin in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

destiny of the Arab forces in their onslaught on the Sassanian empire. As a mint-town, under its old Sassanian mint-signature, it appears at an early date on Arab-Sassanian coins, e.g.

Khusrau II type, years 25, 26, 28 ?, 29, and 30 (= A.H. 36-41 ?)

'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 41

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 51, 52, and 53, and uncertain year

'Ubaiddallāh ibn Ziyād, years 57, 58, 59 ?, 60, 62 ?, and 63

Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, year 69 ? (on Mordtmann's authority only).

Apart from the coins of Khusrau type, whose era is uncertain, these coins are all in terms of the Muhammadan era.

This mint-name also appears in the form NIH (see nos. 45 and 45 a, below).

#### 44, 44 a, 44 b. NHR, *Nahr-Tirā* (نهر تیرا)

This place was situated in the province of Khūzistān to the west of Ahwāz on the road to 'Irāk. The Arab-Sassanian dirhams issued from this mint are:

Yezdigird III type, year 20 (= A.H. 31)

Khusrau II type, year 27 ? (= A.H. 38 ?)

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 52 and 53 (A.H.)

'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, years 20 ? (= A.H. 31) and 48 ? (A.H.)

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād, year 54 (A.H.)

al-Hakam ibn Abī'l-'Āṣ, year 56 (A.H.).

De Morgan (*op. cit.*, p. 354), followed by Paruck (*Sāsānian Coins*, p. 163), rejected the identification of this mint-signature with *Nahr-Tirā* because of the fact that, according to him, there are extant Sassanian coins of Yezdigird III dated in the years 19 and 20 (i.e. A.H. 30 and 31), at a time when Yezdigird had long been driven out of this district. But to my knowledge no such coins have ever been published. Certainly none is reproduced in Paruck. Besides we find amongst the Arab-Sassanian coins that NHR was a mint possessed in common by two governors, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād and al-Hakam ibn Abī'l-'Āṣ, who at the same time struck coins in Arrajān, which is on the borders of Khūzistān Province, so that the location of the mint cannot be far away from this region. *Nahr-Tirā* is consequently quite suitable. Moreover we know that *Nahr-Tirā* was actually an Umayyad mint-town since it figures in the year A.H. 80<sup>1</sup> on dirhams of the Reformed Currency.

<sup>1</sup> Lavoix, *Catalogue*, i, no. 208.

45, 45 a. NIH, *Nihāvand* (i.e. *Māh al-Baṣra*)

This is apparently the same mint as NH (no. 43, above). Its appearances under this form on Arab-Sassanian coins are:

45. Khusrau II type, years 33? and 37 (= A.H. 44 and 48?)

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year uncertain.

45 a. 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, year 27? (P.-Y.E. = A.H. 59) [M. 45, p. 68]

'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, year 69 (A.H.) [B. 35, p. 102].

## 46. PALHAN?

This mint-name, which is only known on Arab-Sassanian dirhams of Salm ibn Ziyād of the year (A.H.) 63, has usually been identified with Balkh, the great metropolis of Khurāsān. But if this be the case, why is it of such rare occurrence, and why is it never found on the coins of the Sassanian monarchs? Besides, in the present writer's opinion, the mint of Balkh is to be identified with mint-signature BLH (no. 14). We must look elsewhere, then, for a solution. In Blochet's *Liste géographique des Villes de l'Iran* (in *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xvii, pp. 166 and 174) there is a town-name which bears a certain amount of resemblance to this puzzling mint-name, namely PARHAN (or PALHAN, since R and L are represented by the same letter in Pehlevi script). This city was apparently built by 'Rūstām roi du Sagastān' (i.e. Sīstān). It is natural to conclude, as Blochet does, that its situation was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the province of Sīstān. As most of Salm's mints are in the distant Eastern Provinces this suggestion is quite relevant, but far from conclusive. See, for example, the evidence of countermarks (p. cxliv). In the circumstances it is better to leave it an unsolved problem.

47. PIL?, *Fil?* (فِيل)

This mint-signature, which in the Arab-Sassanian series is only known on dirhams of Hakam ibn Abi'l-'Āṣ of the years (A.H.) 56 and 57?, has been variously interpreted. The most natural view, it seems to me, is to equate it with the Arabic *Fil* which, we know, was an Umaiyad mint during the period of the Reformed Currency as early as A.H. 79.<sup>1</sup> The mint of *Fil* has been located in the distant province of Khwārizm in the town of al-Jurjānīa. But as this province was not conquered by

<sup>1</sup> Nützel, *Catalogue*, i, no. 327. Another example was previously mentioned by Casanova: *Collection . . . Princesse Ismaïl*, no. 20. The earliest notification of such an Umaiyad mint was made by Blau in 1855 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 835).

the Arabs until A.H. 93 under Kūtaiba ibn Muslim this seems an impossible identification. If the mint-signature *FIL* is the same as the Arabic mint-name *Fil* it seems to me that the place in question must lie nearer to the southern provinces of Īrān, since it is one of the mints of Ḥakam ibn Abī'l-Āṣ, whose other mints are located in Khūzistān and Fārs. Unfortunately I can find no record of any place of such a name in this region. We must, therefore, leave it as another unsolved mint problem.

48, 48 a. RD, *al-Raiy* (الرَّاي)

These two mint-signatures, which are almost certainly to be regarded as variants of one and the same monogram, have occasioned much speculation on the part of scholars. The different interpretations, many of them quite fantastic, that have been proposed are summarized by Dr. George C. Miles in his important monograph, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*.<sup>1</sup> The correct identification, however, has in recent years been demonstrated by Prof. E. Herzfeld.<sup>2</sup> Briefly the philological aspect of the question may be simply explained as a pseudo-archaic rendering of *RY* by *RD*.<sup>3</sup>

The important town of Raiy, the Rhages of the Ancients, in the neighbourhood of Teheran, in the Jibāl Province, was conquered by the Arabs between the years A.H. 18–24. Coins of the Umayyad Reformed Currency struck at this mint are known from A.H. 81 onwards. The following are the known instances of the occurrence of the above mint-signature on Arab-Sassanian coins:

Yezdigird III type, year 21? (= A.H. 32)

Khusrau II type, years 25, 26?, 29?, 32, 35, and 37

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years (4)6? and 52 (A.H.)

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 38?, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 68 (A.H.)

Bishr ibn Marwān, year 74 (A.H.)

Uncertain Governor (*Aslam*?), year 67 (A.H.).

The coin of Yezdigird type said to be dated 21 is only vouched for by Mordtmann (see Catalogue, p. 5). Even if his reading be correct the date cannot be regarded as being according to the Hijra era.<sup>4</sup> All other authenticated specimens of Arab-Sassanian coins of the Yezdigird

<sup>1</sup> pp. 1–3.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, ii. 2, p. 96. See also Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Nöldeke had suggested it earlier (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1877, p. 149 f. and *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 486, f.n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the analogous case of mint-signature no. 52 which I have proposed to read as *sx* for *Sīstān* (Pehlevi, *Sākastān*; Arabic, *Sījistān*).

<sup>4</sup> Miles, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 221, has taken it so.

type are dated in the year 20, which marked the last year of his reign and also the triumph of the Muḥammadan invasion. It was, moreover, used by the Arab governors on coins of this type, which they struck at mints which did not fall into their possession until long after A.H. 20. In consequence the date 20 on the Arab-Sassanian coins of the Yezdigird type only fits into the chronological scheme if we consider it in terms of the Yezdigird era, i.e. = A.H. 31. Mordtmann's coin, if correctly read, would be of the year A.H. 32.<sup>1</sup>

As for the coins of Khusrau II type of this mint, there is some uncertainty as to the era used. They may be dated either in the Muḥammadan or else in terms of the Yezdigird era. As they have no governor's name it is not possible to determine which was used. The coin dated 25 (Pl. XXX. 5) is the earliest Muḥammadan coin from this mint so far illustrated. At the latest it must be of the year A.H. 36.

Ziyād's coins dated 4(6)? have a defective date, which might be read as SIH (30) or, as I have preferred to regard it, as SHSH (6), i.e. as the digit of some later year only partially expressed. As Ziyād was governor in 'Irāk from the year A.H. 45 until his death, the date on the coins is almost certainly to be taken as 46 (A.H.). A similar coin which was read by Mordtmann as of the year 30 was mentioned by him, but not illustrated, in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1880, no. 562, p. 161. Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 6, no. 4) came to the conclusion that Mordtmann must have been mistaken about Ziyād's name on the coin because, even taking the date as in the Yezdigird era, it would not agree with our knowledge of Ziyād's period of control in 'Irāk. The interpretation I have suggested above overcomes this difficulty. Two specimens of this coin are known to me, one in the Osman Arıdağ Collection, Istanbul, the other in the Convent of St. Anne, Jerusalem. I have been enabled to illustrate the former specimen on Pl. XL. 2. It will be seen that there is no doubt as to the governor's name.

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, and Bishr ibn Marwān in their capacity as governors of Kūfa (as well as of Baṣra) would have the Jibāl Province under their jurisdiction. Their coins issued at the Raiy mint are all obviously in terms of the Hijra era,<sup>2</sup> except in the case of the coin of 'Ubaidallāh (p. 68, I 35) with a date which appears to be 38, although it does not seem to fit any of the eras. At first I was inclined

<sup>1</sup> See further, above, p. xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> The same is almost certainly the case also with the Uncertain Governor (*Aslam?*) who coined at this mint in 67. Whoever he was, he was not Aslam ibn Zur'a al-Kilābi as one might be tempted to suppose, and as Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 7) has suggested.

to regard this as a defective 68, but its unusual obverse margin is so similar to that on Ubaidallāh's coins of *Airan* (*Sūsa*), which are dated 29 and 30, that it is more than likely that the year in question is nearer 30 than 60. Unfortunately, I have been unable to illustrate the coin.

49. SHI, *al-Shirajān* (الشیرجان)

The above interpretation is a mere conjecture on the part of the present writer. The town was the capital of the province of Kirmān. The name is known even in a contracted form Shīr<sup>1</sup> in the historians. It is seldom found on Arab-Sassanian coins. The only instances known to me are :

Khusrau II type, year 30 (= A.H. 41 ?)

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 11 ! (*sic*)

'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 50 (A.H.).

The coin of Ziyād owes its surprisingly early date no doubt to the fact that an old Sassanian reverse die has been re-used at a later period.

50. SHUSH, *al-Sūs* (السوس), i.e. Susa

On Arab-Sassanian coins the Pehlevi name of Sūsa is rare. So far, it makes its appearance only on certain recently discovered undated copper specimens (see Catalogue, p. 171). Otherwise, under an abbreviated Pehlevi title AIRAN (nos. 5-7, q.v.), it is to be found in the same series. Its Arabic name *al-Sūs* is a mint-name on Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Coinage from the year A.H. 80.

51, 51a. SIZAJTA(N), *Sijistān* or *Sīstān* (سجستان)

This Eastern Province is otherwise represented amongst the mint-signatures on Arab-Sassanian coins by ZR (no. 57) for Zaranj, its capital, and also, according to the present writer's theory, in the mint-signature no. 52 = SK, an abbreviation of the name of the province. On the Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Currency the Arabic name of the province *Sijistān* appears in the year A.H. 90. The only occurrence of the above Pehlevi forms of the name on Arab-Sassanian coins is on coins of Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, year 73 (A.H.) [pp. 107-8].

<sup>1</sup> Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iii, p. 230.

52, 52 a, 52 b, 52 c, 52 d. sk, *Sijistān* (سجستان)

This mint-signature has for long been read as IZD, and interpreted as the mint of Yezd (يزد), although this mint is not known at all on any of the Umayyad coins of purely Muhammadan type. The present writer has reached the conclusion, after an examination of the whole series of Arab-Sassanian coins, that the region where coins with this particular mint-signature were struck must have been in the province of Sistān, and it has seemed to him that it is quite possible to interpret the signature as the initial letters of this province, i.e. either as SD (cf. above, p. cxxvi, RD for Rhages or Raiy) or as SK (for *Sakastān*, the old name of Sistān).

It is a common mint-signature on Arab-Sassanian coins, as can be seen from the following summary of its known occurrences :

Yezdigird III type, year 20 (= A.H. 31)

Khusrau II type, years 26 ?, 28 ?, 37, 38 ?, 45, 48, 61 ?, and 63 ?

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 56, 57 ?, 58 ?, and 63 ?

Salm ibn Ziyād, year 56 (= A.H. 68)

Talha ibn 'Abdallāh, years 64 and 66 ?

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 66

'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra, year 79

'Abdallāh ibn al-Hārith (?), year 66.

Most of the above dates are in terms of the Muhammadan era. The last five governors, as can be seen by a reference to their biographical sketches, were in turn governors of the province of Sistān. So it seems fairly obvious that their common mint is likely to have been located in that quarter. This signature is also found on the barbarous imitations, described on pp. 125-6, on one of which the name of the capital of Sistān occurs.

53, 53 a, 53 b. st, *Istakhr* (اصطخر)

*Istakhr*, the ancient Persepolis, was the capital of one of the five great districts of the province of Fārs. Its Arabic name appears on the Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Coinage from the year A.H. 90 onwards.<sup>1</sup>

The place had had already a long mint history, in Arsacid and Sassanian times, before the Arabs took over control, first of all in A.H. 23 and later, after a period of revolt, c. A.H. 28 or 29.

<sup>1</sup> There is a questionable example of the year A.H. 79 in the British Museum, but little reliance can be placed on this date.

On Arab-Sassanian dirhams ST occurs as follows :

- Khusrau II type, year 31
- Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 51 and 54 (A.H.)
- 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 52?, 60, 61, and 62 (there is a copper piece perhaps dated 59?)
- 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 63? and 66 (A.H.)
- 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallah (supporter of the former), years 69, 70, and 71? (A.H.)
- al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, years 78 and 79? (A.H.).

Once again the coins chronicle the political movements of the period ; the repulse of the Umayyad cause by the rival Caliph 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair and his adherents, followed by their suppression by al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra and the restoration of the Umayyad power in the Eastern Provinces.

54, 54 a. TART?, *Ardashir-Khurra?* (اردشیر خرّه)

The only suggestion that I can make regarding the significance of this mint-signature is that it is the same as ART (no. 9), i.e. Ardashir-Khurra, with an added prefix of uncertain value. It is found on the Arab-Sassanian coins of the following governors :

- 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 71 (A.H.)
- al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, year 76 (A.H.)
- al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, years 78 and 80 (A.H.).

Both Muhallab and Hajjāj have also coins of this year struck at Ardashir-Khurra in the province of Fārs. This supports the above explanation.

55. TPURSTAN, *Tabaristān* (طبرستان)

Although this province appears in possession of a mint on a rare Umayyad coin of the Reformed Currency of the year A.H. 102<sup>1</sup> it nowhere occurs on the Arab-Sassanian coins issued by the Umayyad governors. The first occurrence of the Pehlevi name on Muhammadian coins is c. A.H. 144, when the 'Abbāsid governors of the province took over the coinage system of the Ispahbads. These coins are described in the Catalogue on pp. 131-61. For an historical and geographical sketch of Tabaristān reference should be made to pp. lxix-lxxx.

<sup>1</sup> Lavoix, *Catalogue*, i, no. 440, Pl. III.

56. ZANKAN ?, *Zanjān* (زنجان) ?

As *Zanjān*, a large city in the province of *Jibāl*, is not represented amongst the mints of the Umayyad Reformed Coinage the above identification is put forward with considerable reserve. The only occurrence of the name in full is on the Arab-Sassanian coins of 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād dated A.H. 63. The same mint-name, however, may be contained in nos. 62, 62 a-b below. *Zanjān* was an important station on the great highway from Adharbaijān to Kazwīn. See also M. 25, p. 46.

57, 57 a, 57 b. ZR, *Zaranj* (زرنج)

*Zaranj* is the capital of *Sīstān* Province (see nos. 51 and 52). On the Arab-Sassanian dirhams it is known in the following instances:

- Khusrau II, year 47 (A.H. ?)
- 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, year 69 (on Mordtmann's authority)
- Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 51, 52, and 53 ? (A.H.)
- 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 26 (= A.H. 58) and 57 (A.H.)
- 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, year 64 ? (A.H.)
- Katārī ibn al-Fujā'a, year 75 (A.H.)
- Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra, years 75 and 76 ? (A.H.)
- Uncertain Governor (Muhammad), year 40 ?.

The Arabic name of *Zaranj* also appears on a barbarous imitation of an Arab-Sassanian coin of uncertain date (see Catalogue, p. 126).

## 58. BN ? or ZN ?

I can offer no satisfactory equivalent of this mint-signature. In the Arab-Sassanian series it occurs on the following coin (p. 48):

- 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 30.

This may be a Hijra date since 'Abdallāh was first appointed over *Baṣra* and its dependencies in A.H. 29.

## 59. s ?

This uncertain mint-signature occurs on the following Arab-Sassanian coin (p. 13):

- Khusrau II type, year 35.

The era is indeterminate, probably *Hijra*.

60, 60 a. BY?

This puzzling signature might readily be regarded as an abbreviation of BYRA (no. 13), i.e. *al-Baṣra*, but as it is known on Sassanian coins of Yezdigird III long after that city was in Arab possession, as well as on Sassanian coins before Baṣra was founded, this explanation could not be sustained. As in the case of BLH (no. 14) the location of the mint would seem to be somewhere in the eastern territories. There may be some significance in the fact that the same form occurs as a suffix in the mint-name (no. 37) KRMANBY. On Arab-Sassanian coins it occurs as follows:

Yezdigird III type, year 20 (= A.H. 31)

'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 20? (= A.H. 31)

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād, years 52 and 53 (A.H.).

## 61. ST?

This may be a blundered form of ST (no. 53), i.e. *Iṣṭakhr*. As such it was read by Père Paulin Lemaire (in *Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 295), but it is more probably a bungled form of no. 54 (q.v.). The sole example on Arab-Sassanian coins is: al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, year 80 (A.H.).

## 62, 62a, 62 b. ZANK?

These may be variants of the mint-name no. 56 above, which has been conjecturally read as *Zanjān*. The following are the occurrences of these uncertain mint-signatures on Arab-Sassanian coins:

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 54? (authority of Mordtmann)

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 60 and 63 (A.H.).

## 63. APNURAN?, Ābnūrān? (آنوران)

This uncertain mint-signature occurs only on the unique Arab-Ephthalite coin described on p. 127. If the reading proposed is correct, there is a place called Ābnūrān mentioned by the Arab geographer Ibn Khurdadhbih<sup>1</sup> that might correspond. The place is also called *Anbūrān* and *Amurān*. This was the name of a district and town in the province of Fārs. The town lay on the road to Arrajān,<sup>2</sup> west of

<sup>1</sup> 45. 5 (quoted by Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, i, p. 39).

<sup>2</sup> Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 264-5.

Nawbanjān, in a very fertile region. The drawback, however, to this identification is the fact that the Arab-Ephthalite coins appear to be associated with the province of Khurāsān. As I can find no place in that province that can be made to fit the Pehlevi legend, I must leave the difficulty unsolved.

#### 64. SHAJA?

This uncertain mint-signature is found only on one coin, viz. al-Mughīra ibn al-Muhallab, year 71 (A.H.). See Notes, pp. 194-5.

#### *Geographical Outline*

A brief geographical survey of the Eastern Provinces and their known mints in Umayyad times may be useful. The following notes are consequently best studied in conjunction with the map on p. cxlii and the details of Pehlevi mint-names already recorded above on pp. cii-cv. It must be borne in mind always that the name of a province may also—in fact, usually does—indicate its chief town, which is known by the same name although it may have another name as well, e.g. Sijistān or Sistān (province) also stands for its capital Zaranj. Both names are in fact employed.

The province of 'Irāk in early times was divided into twelve districts (or *Astānāt*). Each district (or *Astān*) in its turn was subdivided into a variety of sub-districts called *Tassūj*. An outline of these to indicate the Umayyad mint-towns may be useful; the known mints are underlined:

A. East of the Tigris we have :

- (1) the Astān of Shādh Firūz or Hulwān (حلون).
- (2) the Astān of Shādh Hurmuz, round Baghdad, and including the sub-district of al-Madīna al-'Atīqa (المدينة العتيقة) (ancient Ctesiphon).
- (3) the Astān of Shādh Kubādh comprising the sub-district of Khusrau Shādh Hurmuz (خسرو شاد هرموز).<sup>1</sup>

B. In the territory watered by both the Tigris and Euphrates we have :

- (4) the Astān of Nahrawān, in which al-'Āl and perhaps the rare mint of al-Jisr may have been situated (?).
- (5) the Astān of Kaskar including the town of Kaskar (كسك) and the important town of Wāsit (واسط) built by the famous Umayyad Viceroy Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.) in A.H. 84. The latter's

<sup>1</sup> Lane-Poole, *B.M. Cat.*, ix, p. 31, no. 79 f.

## INTRODUCTION

late foundation precludes its appearance among the Arab-Sassanian coins of the Umayyads. The mint of al-Mubāraka is perhaps to be located in this district.

- (6) the Astān of Shādh Bahman including the two sub-districts of Maisān and Dasht-i-Maisān (دشت میسان), the capital of which, al-Madhār, also appears as a mint-name. In this district was the celebrated Muhammadan capital of al-Baṣra (البصرة). The rare mints of al-Bayān and al-Furāt are also in this region.

C. West of the Tigris we have :

- (7) the Upper Astān (الستان الاعلى).
- (8) the Astān of Ardashīr Bābḡhān. In this district was located the celebrated new garrison city of the Muhammadans al-Kūfa.
- (9) the Astān of Bih Dhīvmāsufān.
- (10) the Astān of Upper Bihkobādh (بهاقاذ الاعلى).
- (11) the Astān of Middle Bihkobādh (بهاقاذ الوسط).
- (12) the Astān of Lower Bihkobādh (بهاقاذ الأسفل).

Of the above mints, which we know were active in the Umayyad period following upon the Currency Reform of 'Abd al-Malik, there is only one that can without hesitation be paralleled amongst the mints that issued Arab-Sassanian coins, viz. al-Baṣra = BJRA (no. 13). The other Arab-Sassanian mint-name that is, almost without doubt, to be located in this province is BH (no. 11) = Bihkobādh, which might be any of the three districts of that name. Dasht-i-Maisān may also be the equivalent of signature no. 23. The extraordinary thing is that the second of the two great garrison cities established by the Arab conquerors in this province, al-Kūfa, apparently does not figure amongst the Arab-Sassanian mint-signatures. The earliest record we have of it as a mint-city is the date A.H. 79 on an Umayyad dirham of the Reformed Currency.

*The province of al-Jazīra* (الجزيرة), i.e. 'the Island', so called because it lay between the Tigris and the Euphrates, does not figure to any great extent in the coinage of the Umayyad Caliphs. The only town of this province whose name occurs on an Umayyad dirham of the Reformed Currency period is Harrān.<sup>1</sup> Two other towns only occur as mint-names under the Umayyads: al-Mausil (Mosul) and al-Ruhā (Edessa); both,

<sup>1</sup> The sole published example is in the Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, p. ۳۷, no. ۸۷, Pl. I). I have verified the date (A.H. 87) from the coin itself.

however, on the copper coinage. There is no evidence that any of the mint-signatures on the Arab-Sassanian coins belong to places in the province of al-Jazīra.

*The province of Adharbāijān* (اذربیجان) was of little consequence in the early days of the Caliphate. That it did possess a mint-town is evidenced by the presence of the name on dirhams of the Reformed Currency and its probable equivalent ATRA (no. 10) on the Arab-Sassanian coins. That is the extent of its numismatic interest to us in this work.

Of the north-west provinces those of Arrān (اران) and Arminiya (ارمنیا) have a certain interest in the history of Umayyad mints. The former is found on a dirham of the Reformed Currency of the year A.H. 90<sup>1</sup> and it is just possible that one of its towns, Kanja (كنجه), may be the equivalent of a rare mint-signature, reported but not confirmed, on an Arab-Sassanian coin, KNJA (no. 27). The latter province of Arminiya not only occurs under its own name on the Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Currency from the year A.H. 81 onwards, but also under that of its capital Dabil from the year A.H. 84. No mint-signature on the Arab-Sassanian coins has so far been definitely allocated to this province.

*The province of Jibāl* (جبال), the ancient Media, comprised four districts, of which the following four cities were the respective capitals : (a) Kirmīsīn (later Kirmānshāh); (b) Hamadhān; (c) al-Raiy; (d) Isfahān (Jaiy).

- (a) This district, now in the modern Kurdistān, has no numismatic interest for us here.
- (b) Hamadhān (همدان) is not only a mint-city on Reformed Currency dirhams from the year A.H. 90 onwards, but appears under its mint-signature AHM (no. 4) on the Arab-Sassanian coins.
- (c) The important city of al-Raiy (الري), the ancient Greek Rhages, likewise appears on the Reformed Currency dirhams from the year A.H. 81 and on the Arab-Sassanian coins under the guise of the mint-signature RD (no. 48).
- (d) Part of the city of Isfahān (اصفهان) appears as a mint-place under the name of Jaiy (جوي) on the Reformed Currency dirhams from the year A.H. 75 onwards; but no indication of its presence amongst the mint-signatures on the Arab-Sassanian coins has yet been detected.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Soc. St. Petersburg.*, vi, p. 231.

In addition to the above the following places in the Jibāl Province are known to have struck Umayyad Reformed Currency dirhams:

- (1) Māh al-Baṣra (ماه البصرة) from the year A.H. 79. This place is the old Sassanian city of Nihāvand, which appears on the Arab-Sassanian coins as NH and NIH (nos. 43 and 45).
- (2) Dastawā (دستوى), which was a town and district belonging partly to Raiy and partly to Hamadhān, appears on the dirhams of conventional Muhammadian type from the year A.H. 91. Apparently it does not occur on our Arab-Sassanian coins.
- (3) The same applies to the district of al-Taimara (التمرة) or Shakk al-Taimara (شق التمرة). Dīnāwari<sup>1</sup> records that the district of Ispahān was split (شق) into the two divisions of Jaiy and al-Taimara (hence شق التمرة).

One other place in this province may perhaps have been an Umayyad mint, viz. the town of Zanjān (زنجان) or Zankān (زنگان). Yākūt<sup>2</sup> says it lay near to Kāzwin and Abhar, which would be somewhere in the district of Dastawā. This seems to be the mint that appears on the Arab-Sassanian coins as ZANKAN (nos. 56 and 62); the name occurs nowhere, however, on the later Umayyad coins after the Currency Reform.

The province of Khūzistān (خوزستان) comprising all the alluvial country of the river Kārūn—the *Dujail al-Ahwāz* or Little Tigris of the Hūz (tribe), who gave their name to the province—is quite rich in Umayyad mints, though so far only two appear to be identifiable with any certainty on the Arab-Sassanian coins, viz. (a) al-Sūs (السوس) and (b) Nahr-Tirā (نهر تير).

(a) al-Sūs, the ancient Susa, not only occurs under the Arabic name السوس on the Reformed Currency, from the year A.H. 80, but also on the Arab-Sassanian coins, both under its Pehlevi name SHUSH (no. 50) and under its Pehlevi official title Airān-Khurra-Shāhpuhr abbreviated to AIR, AIRA, or AIRAN (nos. 5, 6, and 7). The excavations of the French *Mission Archéologique* in that neighbourhood have been fruitful of numismatic discoveries, and more will, no doubt, be forthcoming.

(b) Nahr-Tirā, a town on the main road from the capital of Khūzistān Province, al-Ahwāz, across to the chief cities of 'Irāk, had a mint

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb al-Abhār al-Tiwal*, ed. V. Guirgass, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, p. 948.

under the Umayyad Caliphs. Its earliest appearance on their Reformed Currency coins is A.H. 80. The mint-signature NHR (no. 44) on their Arab-Sassanian coins has been in consequence identified with this place.

The other Umayyad mints in this province, which apparently do not appear on the Arab-Sassanian coins, are :

- (1) Jundai-Sābūr (جندی ساپور), formerly the old Sassanian capital of Vēh-Andēw-Shāhpühr, i.e. 'Good-Antioch of Shāpūr', and celebrated under the Arabs for its famous School of Medicine, appears on Reformed Currency dirhams in the year A.H. 80.
- (2) Sūk al-Ahwāz (سوق الاهواز), the Arab provincial capital, appears at the earliest in the year A.H. 79.
- (3) Rāmhurmuz (رامهرمز), the old Rām-Ohrmizd-Ardashīr was minting Reformed Currency dirhams in the year A.H. 80, as was also
- (4) Manādhīr (منذر), which was the name given to two districts and towns called, respectively, Great and Little Manādhīr. Lastly,
- (5) we have the rare mint-name Surraq (سرق), a district in the south, which appears as early as A.H. 81.

*The province of Fārs* (فارس), the ancient Persis, to the east of Khūzīstān, was divided into the following five districts : (a) Istakhr, (b) Sābūr (or Bishāpūr), (c) Ardashīr-Khurra, (d) Dārābjird, and (e) Arrajān. Each one of these appears on the Arab-Sassanian coins as a mint-name.

- (a) Istakhr (اصطخر), the ancient Persepolis of the Greeks, not only appears as a mint-town on the Reformed Currency dirhams as early as A.H. 79, but its Pehlevi name in abbreviation, ST (no. 53), is quite common on the Arab-Sassanian coins struck by the Umayyad governors of Fārs.
- (b) Sābūr—its fuller name is Bishāpūr (بیشاپور)—appears as an Umayyad mint of the Reformed Currency from the year A.H. 80 onwards. Although the capital of the smallest *kūra*, or district, of Fārs, its Pehlevi mint-signature BISH (no. 12) is amongst the commonest on Arab-Sassanian coins, indicating its great importance.
- (c) Ardashīr-Khurra (اردشیر خرّة)—its Arab capital, Shīrāz, was not built till A.H. 64—appears on the Reformed Currency in the year A.H. 80.<sup>1</sup> Its Pehlevi mint-signature ART (no. 9) is also of frequent occurrence on the Umayyad coins of Arab-Sassanian type.

<sup>1</sup> Porter (in *Num. Chron.*, 1921, p. 317).

- (d) Dārābjird (درابرد) has its earliest known appearance on the Reformed Currency in the year A.H. 80. Nevertheless, that it was an important mint is proved by the frequent appearance of its Pehlevi mint-signature DA, &c. (nos. 17–22) on the Arab-Sassanian coins. One of its chief towns was Fasā (فسا), which, although it apparently has no equivalent amongst the mint-signatures, does occur on the Reformed Currency in the year A.H. 79.
- (e) Arrajān (أرجان), which adjoins the Khūzistān Province, does not appear amongst the mint-names on the Umayyad Reformed Currency. On the Arab-Sassanian coins, however, there is a mint-signature (no. 8) which the present writer has proposed to read as ARJN = *Arrajān*. There is also a hitherto unpublished mint-signature (no. 15) which the present writer has also suggested might be read as BRM and interpreted as Birāmkubādh (برمکاده), which is another name for Arrajān city (see p. cxvi, above).

*The province of Kirmān* (کرمان) had for its chief town the old Sassanian capital al-Shirajān, the name which, the present writer suggests, may be concealed in the mint-signature SHI (no. 49), which appears on the Arab-Sassanian coins. The only mint-name from this province, however, that appears on the Reformed Currency is that of the province itself on coins beginning with the year A.H. 90. The Pehlevi equivalent of this, with various additional enigmatic letters, is fairly common on the Arab-Sassanian coins in this Catalogue (see KRMAN, nos. 28–37).

*The province of Makrān* (ماکران) apparently had no mint, known to us, at work during the Umayyad Caliphate and therefore does not concern us here.

*The province of Sīstān or Sijistān* (سیستان) not only appears on the Umayyad coinage under its own name, but also under that of its capital Zaranj (زرنج). On the Reformed Currency dirhams the earliest occurrence of the former is in A.H. 90, while that of the latter is in A.H. 101, although there is a stray case where the Arabic name Zaranj is found on a barbarous imitation of a coin of Arab-Sassanian type (see Catalogue, p. 126, no. 245), which might be earlier. The Pehlevi mint-signatures on the Arab-Sassanian coins which have been identified with this provincial mint are as follows: SIZAJTAN? (no. 51) and ZR (no. 57). In addition the present writer, for reasons stated elsewhere, suggests attributing mint-signature no. 52 also to this mint.

The small *province of Kūmis* (قومس) lay on the road from Raiy in the Jibāl Province to Naisābūr (Abrašahr) in Khurāsān. Its capital

Dāmghān was formerly often referred to by the name of the province, in accordance with a common Arabic custom. Kūmis is found as a mint-name on Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Currency for the first time in the year A.H. 91. There appears to be no trace of its mint activity, however, on the Arab-Sassanian coinage.

*The province of Tabaristān* (طبرستان), the mountain land north-east of Kūmis, for a long time remained independent of Arab control. Nevertheless, in Umayyad times the Arabic name Tabaristān is found on dirhams of the Reformed Currency of the year A.H. 102. On the Arab-Sassanian coins issued during the Umayyad régime there is no trace of such a mint, but on the coins with Pehlevi legends issued by the 'Abbāsid governors in Tabaristān the name TPURSTAN (no. 55) is a regular feature.

*The province of Khurāsān* (خراسان), the greatest of the Eastern Provinces, was divided into four districts, each with its capital of the same name: (a) Abrashahr (Naisābūr), (b) Merv, (c) Herāt, and (d) Balkh, all of which are represented amongst the Umayyad mints.

- (a) Abrashahr (أَبْرَشَهُر), later called Naisābūr or Nīshāpūr, appears as a mint-city on the Reformed Currency dirhams in the year A.H. 92. But under its Pehlevi name it occurs in the mint-signatures APR, APRSH, and APRSHT: (nos. 1, 2, and 3) on the earlier Arab-Sassanian coins.
- (b) Merv or Marv (مَرْو) is known as an Umayyad mint on the Reformed Currency as early as A.H. 73, so that there is an uninterrupted connexion with the coinage of Arab-Sassanian type of the same mint under its Pehlevi name MRW (no. 41).
- (c) Herāt (هَرَات) is found on the Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Currency beginning with the year A.H. 90, but under its Pehlevi name HRA (no. 24) it appears earlier on the Arab-Sassanian coins.
- (d) Balkh (بلخ), the great 'Mother of Cities', first occurs under its Arabic name on the Umayyad coins of the Reformed Currency in the year A.H. 114, although the form Balkh al-Baidā (بلخ الْبَيْدَا), i.e. 'White Balkh', is recorded in A.H. 111.<sup>1</sup> The present writer has suggested that we must look for this mint under the mint-signature BLH (no. 14), which has previously always been read as BBA. The mint-signature PALHAN (no. 46) has been interpreted as Balkh, but this is unlikely.

<sup>1</sup> This latter name has been attributed to another town in Daghestān (see *J.R.A.S.*, 1871, p. 437), but I see no reason to support this. The style in both cases is the same.

## INTRODUCTION

## UMAIYAD MINTS IN THE EASTERN PROVINCES

<i>Reformed Coinage</i>	<i>Earliest date</i>	<i>Arab-Sassanian Coinage</i>	<i>Latest date</i>	<i>Province</i>
Abrashahr	92	APR, APRSH, APRSHT (nos. 1-3)	69	<u>Khurāsān</u>
Adharbaijān	105	ATRA (no. 10)	63	Adharbaijān
Ardashīn-Khurra	80	ART (no. 9)	78 or 79?	Fārs
Arrān	89	See KNJA (no. 27)		Arrān
Arminiya	81	..		Arminiya
Iṣṭakhr	79?	ST (no. 53)	79	Fārs
al-Bāb	114	..		?
Birāmkubād̄h	79	BRM (no. 15)	58	Fārs
al-Baṣra	79	BJRA (no. 13)	75	'Irāk
Balkh	114	BLH (no. 14)	77	<u>Khurāsān</u>
Balkh al-Baidā	111	BLH (no. 14)	77	<u>Khurāsān</u>
Bihkubād̄h al-Asfal	90	BH (no. 11)	61	'Irāk
Bihkubād̄h al-Awsat	90	BH (no. 11)	61	'Irāk
al-Bayān	81	..		'Irāk
al-Taimara	90	..		Jibāl
al-Jazira	80?	..		Jazira
al-Jisr	80	..		'Irāk?
Jundai-Sābūr	80	..		<u>Khūzistān</u>
Jaiy	75	..		Jibāl
Harrān	87	..		Jazira
Hulwān	93 <sup>1</sup>	..		'Irāk
Khusrau Shādh Hurmuz	97	..		'Irāk
Dabil	84	..		Arminiya
Dārābjird	80	DA, &c. (nos. 17-22)	82	Fārs
Dastawā	91	..		Jibāl
Dasht-i-Maisān	80 <sup>2</sup>	DSHT? (no. 23)	67	'Irāk
Rāmhurmuz	80	..		<u>Khūzistān</u>
al-Raiy	81	RD (no. 48)	74	Jibāl
Zaranj	101?	ZR (no. 57)	75	Sistān
Sābūr (Bishāpūr)	80 <sup>3</sup>	BISH (no. 12)	83	Fārs
Sijistān (Sistān)	90	SIZĀTĀN (no. 51), and SK (no. 52)	73	Sistān
Sarakhs	90	..		<u>Khurāsān</u>
Surraq	81	..		<u>Khūzistān</u>
al-Sūs	80	SHUSH (no. 50) and AIR, AIRA, AIRAN (nos. 5-7)	61	<u>Khūzistān</u>

<sup>1</sup> First published and illustrated in *Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 296, fig. 2.<sup>2</sup> Unpublished dirham in the American Numismatic Society, New York.<sup>3</sup> Johnson Sale (Sotheby, 1906).

## INTRODUCTION

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<i>Reformed Coinage</i>	<i>Earliest date</i>	<i>Arab-Sassanian Coinage</i>	<i>Latest date</i>	<i>Province</i>
Sūk al-Ahwāz	79	..		<u>Khūzistān</u>
<u>Shak̄k</u> al-Taimara	80	..		Jibāl
Ṭabaristān	102	TPURSTAN <sup>1</sup>		Ṭabaristān
al-'Āl?	97	..		'Irāk
Fasā	79	..		Fārs
al-Furāt	81	..		'Irāk
Fil	79	PIL? (no. 47)	57	?
Kūmis	91	..		Kūmis
Kirmān	90	KRMAN, &c. (nos. 28-37)	78	Kirmān
Kaskar	97	..		'Irāk
al-Kūfa	79	..		'Irāk
Māh al-Baṣra (Nihāvand)	79	NIH and NH (nos. 43 and 45)	69	Jibāl
Māhī	90	..		?
al-Mubāraka	107	..		'Irāk?
al-Madīna al-'Atīka	97	..		'Irāk?
al-Madhār	96	..		'Irāk
Marw (Merv)	73	MRW (nos. 40 and 41)	75	<u>Khurāsān</u>
Manādhīr	80	..		<u>Khūzistān</u>
Maisān	79	..		'Irāk
Nahr-Tirā	80	NHR (no. 44)	56	<u>Khūzistān</u>
Herāt	90	HRA (no. 24)	69	<u>Khurāsān</u>
Hamadhān	90	AHM (no. 4)	52	Jibāl
Wāsiṭ	84	..		'Irāk

In addition to the above note must be taken of the following:

(a) The Arab-Sassanian mint-signatures so far not identified. (See Table above, on pp. cii ff., especially nos. 58-64.)

(b) A few mint-signatures on Arab-Sassanian coins which have been interpreted as follows, but which do not occur on the Umayyad coins of the Reformed Currency in this form, namely:

- No. 8. ARJN, i.e. Arrajān (in Fārs Province)
- No. 26. HURASAN, and no. 25, HURA, i.e. Khurāsān
- No. 27. KNJA, i.e. Kanja (in Arrān Province)
- No. 42. MRWRUT, i.e. Merv-al-Rūdh (in Khurāsān Province)
- No. 49. SHI, i.e. al-Shirajān? (in Kirmān Province)
- No. 56. ZANKAN, i.e. Zanjān (in Jibāl Province).

<sup>1</sup> The Pehlevi name does not occur on Umayyad coins.

The remarkable fact is that the mint-town of Merv al-Rūdh (مرود), which is quite well known on Arab-Sassanian coins under its Pehlevi form MRWRUT (no. 42), nowhere makes an appearance, as one might expect, on the Umayyad dirhams of the Reformed Coinage. On the other hand, another Umayyad mint which was functioning in the days of the Reformed Currency was Sarrakhs or Sarakhs (سرخس), a town midway between the provincial capitals of Merv and Abrashahr. Apparently it occurs nowhere on Arab-Sassanian coins. Its earliest known date is A.H. 90.

The list on pp. cxl f. summarizes and collates the known Umayyad mints both of the Reformed Coinage and of the Arab-Sassanian group. The earliest known date of the former as well as the latest known date of the latter are noted.

#### IV. COUNTERMARKS

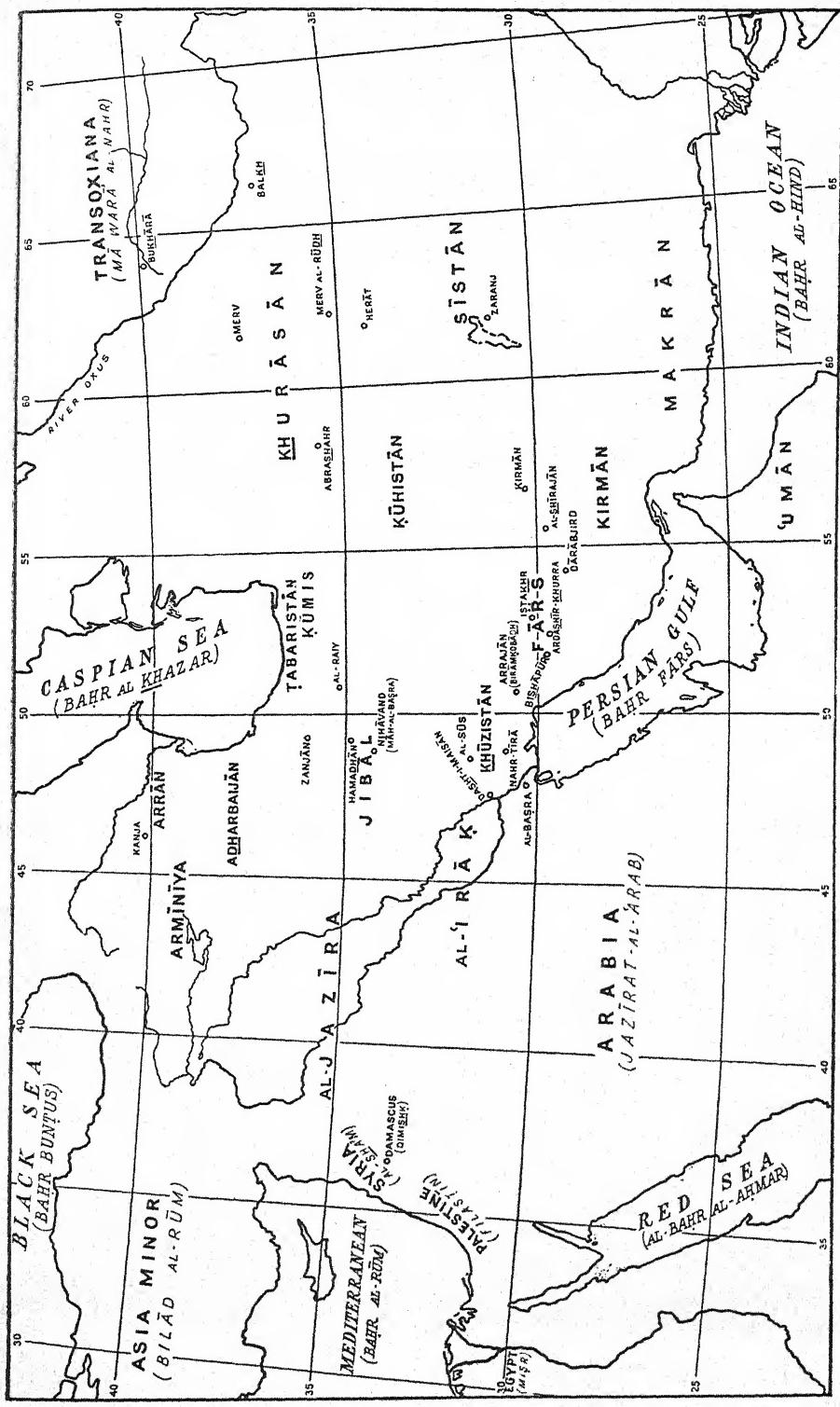
In the Arab-Sassanian series these are to be found only on the coins of the Umayyad governors in the East. Two curious facts about them are: (a) they are *always* on the obverse, and (b) they are *never* stamped over the face of the conventional Sassanian effigy. A rough enumeration of the occurrences of the different countermarks shows that by far the commonest is no. 14 which is frequently used alone, but also quite as often in conjunction with no. 39 or variants of the latter (such as 32, 33, 38), which embody an Ephthalite legend. Most of these are counterstruck very appropriately on coins of Khurāsān.

In fact most of the countermarks are impressed on coins issued at one or other of the famous mints in that great province, where the practice was apparently more prevalent than elsewhere. The coins of 'Irāk, on the other hand, are seldom counterstamped, and in the few instances where they are, they perhaps received this mark of guarantee in one of the Eastern Provinces in the course of circulation there.

A study of these countermarks can prove quite instructive. The following are some observations made.

One of the most important groups of countermarks is nos. 28, 34, and 40. Each consists of a legend in Ephthalite script, which I have elsewhere (p. lxvii) suggested might contain the name 'Abdallāh, together with a symbol  which closely resembles one  which occurs on

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally this symbol was reported on a coin vouched for by Mordtmann (see M. 28, p. 49) of the governor 'Abdallāh ibn 'Amir, struck at Merv in the year 41. Unfortunately the reading is not confirmed.



the margin of all the Arab-Ephthalite coins which I have attributed to 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim. In addition, countermarks 28 and 40 have pellets. The known occurrences of these countermarks are as follows:

- No. 28. Salm ibn Ziyād, Merv al-Rūdh, year 70
- No. 34. Arab-Ephthalite coin, Merv, year 69
- No. 40. Salm ibn Ziyād, Merv, year 63.

It is noteworthy that such a countermark is *never* used on a coin dated either before or, what is more important, after the period when 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim was governor of Khurāsān. That fits in with the interpretation of the legend above suggested.

Countermarks nos. 41 and 47 are forms of the Pehlevi name for the town of Merv al-Rūdh.<sup>1</sup> The known occurrences are:

- Salm ibn Ziyād, Abrashahr, year 64; Herāt, year 67; Merv, years 63, 65, and 69
- 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, Merv al-Rūdh, year 69; Merv, year 66
- 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, Bishāpūr, year 68.

With the exception of the last all these are products of mints in Khurāsān. Merv al-Rūdh was a mint of both Salm and 'Abdallāh, although the latter apparently only struck coins there in one year, A.H. 69 (see p. 94). 'Umar's coin must have strayed from the province of Fārs where it was minted, and been guaranteed afterwards for currency in distant Khurāsān.

Another interesting group is nos. 6, 12, and 18 which depict a kneeling Bactrian camel. The recorded occurrences are:

- No. 6. Salm ibn Ziyād, Merv, year 63; Merv al-Rūdh, year 63
- No. 6. 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, Merv, years 66 and 69
- No. 12. Salm ibn Ziyād, Palhan ?, year 63
- No. 18. Salm ibn Ziyād, Herāt, year 67.

With the possible exception of the puzzling PALHAN (?) all the above coins were definitely minted in the great province of Khurāsān. A Bactrian camel as counterstamp is a very appropriate symbol for that region, which included the great metropolis of Balkh, the *Bactra* of the ancients. The coins of only two governors bear this countermark—Salm and 'Abdallāh—and both governed Khurāsān. It seems highly probable then that the uncertain mint-name (no. 46), which has been read as PALHAN, should be located in this province. In the Mint Notes (p. cxxv) a place-name in Sistān province has been suggested, but it is not unlikely that the unknown mint was in Khurāsān.

<sup>1</sup> Stickel, *Handbuch*, ii. 99, misinterpreted it as 'passirt und gangbar'.

TABLE OF COUNTERMARKS


Countermarks nos. 43, 44, 49, and 50 have a Pehlevi word which has been explained as *ŽHLAN*, 'current'. If this is the case it is the equivalent of countermark no. 42 which is the corresponding Arabic word جائز.

The unique Arabic countermark no. 36 has never been satisfactorily explained so far. I have proposed to read it as a Pehlevi word in Arabic guise, namely *ŽHRM*, i.e. *ŽAHĀRUM*, 'fourth.' Perhaps instead of the ordinal the fraction 'quarter' was intended, in which case it could have a metrological significance. The mistake in the numeral, if such it be, is one that might readily be made by an engraver whose knowledge of Pehlevi was faulty. On epigraphic grounds the Kufic script in which the countermark is written can be ascribed to the first century of the Hijra.

Countermark no. 48, so far as we know, only occurs on coins struck in the province of Kirmān, although a similar countermark, minus the pellets and stroke below (no. 54), is found on a coin of 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād of Başra, year 64. The occurrences of countermark no. 48 are as follows :

- 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 68 and 69
- Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair, year 69
- 'Atīya ibn al-Aswad, year 72.

It is possible that this might have been a special countermark adopted by 'Atīya and stamped by his authority on his own and his predecessors' coins since it consists of the Arabic phrase *الله*, 'to Allah', which is the termination of the celebrated slogan employed by the Khārijites, to whose party 'Atīya at one time adhered, namely *لَا حُكْمَ عَلَى اللَّهِ*, 'There is no judgement unless (that belonging) to Allah!'

As has already been stated none of the above countermarks is found employed in any other section of the Arab-Sassanian series, nor do they occur on the conventional Umayyad or 'Abbāsid dirhams. The latest known date of any coin on which they are found is A.H. 76. They are not present on any coins of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, who was the last Umayyad governor to issue dirhams of this type.

## V. METROLOGY

The drachm of the Sassanians—the unit of their silver coinage—maintained an even standard of weight from Ardashir I (A.D. 211/12–241) until the last of the dynasty Yezdigird III (A.D. 632–651). An

average of nearly 2,000 Sassanian drachms weighed by Mordtmann<sup>1</sup> yields the figure 3·906 grm. (60·3 gr.). The *dirhams* struck by the early Arab governors after the Sassanian type have an average weight that can be put round about the same figure, as can be tested by an examination of the weights of undamaged specimens described in this Catalogue. Zambaur<sup>2</sup> is therefore quite mistaken in asserting that the Arab governors struck their coins *nach reduziertem Fusse*. He is led into this error by supposing, for some reason not specified, that the Sassanian drachms had the same weight standard as the Attic drachm, of 4·25 grm. (65·6 gr.).<sup>3</sup> Mordtmann's measurements show quite convincingly that they were never as heavy as this. Zambaur also states that many of the Arab-Sassanian dirhams weigh about 2·90 grm. and 'thus agree with the legal dirham', which is calculated as 2·97 grm., i.e. 7/10 of 4·25. Any Arab-Sassanian *dirham* with such a low weight as stated by him is obviously a clipped or damaged specimen.

*The legal dirham* (درهم شرعی) to which reference has been made is the approximate weight of the new silver coin of purely Muhamadan type, which was introduced throughout the Caliph's territory by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and his celebrated governor-general Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, c. A.H. 75–76. The Arabic chroniclers who mention the early coinage are unanimous in declaring that the relationship of the *dirham* to the *mithkāl* (i.e. the gold *dīnār* weight) was 10 to 7 as fixed by the new Reformed Currency decree. This proportion is amply attested by the evidence of the coins and the coin weights of the period.

Just as the Sassanian drachm furnished the prototype for the early Muhamadan *dirham* of the Pre-Reform Currency, so the gold coin of the Byzantine Empire set the standard for the earliest purely Muhamadan *dīnār*, which first appeared under 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. Most of these *dīnārs* of the Umayyads were struck presumably at their Syrian capital, Damascus (although they bear no mint indication). The Umayyad Caliphs struck no gold coins in 'Irāk or Īrān,<sup>4</sup> only *dirhams* with a few sporadic copper issues (*fulūs*). The weight of the Byzantine gold *solidus* (or *nomisma*) 'varied but little through the long period of its existence. It is always (when struck at the capital) of more than 60 grains, and the heaviest extant specimens usually weigh from 68 to

<sup>1</sup> Z.D.M.G., 1880, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Article 'Dirhem' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

<sup>3</sup> These are his figures.

<sup>4</sup> Though they did in North Africa and Spain. Regarding their reputed gold issues of Arab-Sassanian type see pp. 161, 191, and 193.

70 grains'.<sup>1</sup> The average weight of the Arabic *dīnār* was about 65 to 66 gr., and varied but little. This *dīnār* weight was called a *mithkāl* and was made the fixed basis of the Muhammadan monetary system. The weight of the *dirham* of 'Abd al-Malik's new currency, as has been said, was calculated as  $7/10$  *mithkāl*, i.e.  $7/10 \times 65.5 = 45.85$  gr. (2.97 grm.), which is about the average weight of the dirhams of the Reformed Currency.

The Arab writers in their occasional references to Muhammadan numismatics also mention the reduction in the weight of the *dirham* that took place under 'Abd al-Malik and Hajjāj. Such numismatic references in Arabic chronicles have been usefully collected and translated by H. Sauvaire in his *Mémoires*, a summary of which in English was published by Lane-Poole in *Num. Chron.*, 1884, pp. 66–96. Although much of this material is, at times, fantastic, it does contain elements of truth which can be verified by the coin evidence. Here is a case in point:

During the early Umayyad Caliphate three classes of Arab dirhams were said to be current: (1) *Baghlī* dirhams (درهم بغلية); (2) *Tabarī* dirhams (درهم طبرية); and (3) *Sumairī* dirhams (درهم سميرية).

(1) The *Baghlī* dirhams were the 'Persian' (or *Fārisī*) dirhams, which by reason of their usual Sassanian portrait type of *Khusrau II* were also referred to as *Khusrau* dirhams (درهم كسروية). Their high weight in contradistinction to that of the other two classes earned for them the additional name of *Wāfi* dirhams (درهم بغية وافية), 'full-weight *Baghlī* dirhams'.

The *Baghlī* dirhams were said to derive their name either from a Jew named *Baghl*,<sup>2</sup> or from a certain person *Rās al-Baghl*, who struck them for the Caliph Omar.<sup>3</sup> This can be discounted as folk-etymology. The *Baghlī* is said to have been of the same weight as the *mithkāl* and to be equal to 8 *dānakṣ*.

(2) The *Tabarī* dirhams came next to the above in popular favour. They were exactly half the weight of the *Baghlīs*, i.e. 1 *Tabarī* =  $\frac{1}{2}$  *mithkāl* = 4 *dānakṣ*.

Judging from the foregoing it is obvious that the *Tabarī* dirhams were a species of hemidrachms or half dirhams. But there are no such coins belonging to the Umayyad period known, nor amongst the coins of the later Sassanian rulers. The half dirhams of the Ispahbads and

<sup>1</sup> Wroth, *Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, vol. i, p. lxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> See Sauvaire, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

the 'Abbāsid governors in Ṭabaristān, however, would fit the requirements not only in weight but also in name (*Ṭabarī* = belonging to Ṭabaristān). But their date is somewhat outside the period of the *Baghlīs*. There are, however, numerous examples of Arab-Sassanian dirhams of the Umayyad governors which have been clipped down to the Ṭabaristān size of *hemidrachm*. This may have been done in Umayyad times. Such coins might well have passed as Ṭabarīs, although it is most likely that the Ṭabarī dirham was only a money of account.

(3) The *Sumairī* dirhams were so called because they were first struck by a Jew named Sumair, who recommended them to Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf at the time of the great Coinage Reform. These dirhams are obviously the new silver coins of purely Muhammadan type, which, as we have seen above, were struck according to a reduced standard. This new dirham was equal to six *dānakīs*, which is the average of the weights of the foregoing *Baghlī* and *Ṭabarī* dirhams. The *Sumairī* was, therefore, equal to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a *Baghlī*, a fact which is corroborated by the average weights of the coins themselves; 2.97 grm. (45.8 gr.) and 3.90 grm. (60.2 gr.) respectively. The statement, however, that the *Baghlī* was the equivalent weight of a *mithkāl* is not justified.

This reduction in the weight of the dirham introduced at the time of Ḥajjāj was, we are also told, highly resented by the people in the Eastern Provinces. The new *dirhams* were called 'reprobates'. Nevertheless, the acceptance of the Caliph's new coinage was duly enforced. The demonetization of the old Arab-Sassanian silver proceeded apace. Ḥajjāj enacted that taxes should be paid in dirhams of the *Khusrau* type. Vast numbers of them must have passed from the Treasury to the various mints to be melted down before being transformed into new dirhams.

In addition to the legal currency in the early Caliphate of the *dīnār* (of gold) and the *dirham* (of silver) use was also made for smaller commercial transactions of a sort of token money of copper. Such a coin was called a *fals* (plural *fulūs*), a word borrowed from the Byzantines. Just as the Arabs derived their *dīnār* and *dirham* from *δηνάριος* (*denarius aureus*) and *δραχμή* (*drachma*) respectively, so they took their *fals* from *φόλλις* (*follis*). The *fals*, however, had no fixed weight like the *dīnār* or *dirham*, and its conventional value appears to have varied throughout different provinces. The Arab metrologists do not indicate that in the early Caliphate there was any fixed ratio between *fals* and *dīnār* or *dirham*. The earliest specific mention of such a relationship is

at the outset of the 'Abbāsid rule in the East; on a coin of Sīstān struck in A.H. 136, which was published by the present writer (*J.R.A.S.*, 1935, pp. 115–21). There we are told that that particular *fals* (weighing 49·6 gr.) was equal to 1/60 of a *dirham*, and at the same time 'current as a *dānak*'. But at later periods in the history of Islamic currency we find the ratio reduced to 48 or even 24 *fulūs* to the legal *dirham*. The countermark (no. 36) on coin no. 243, p. 125, may have some metrological significance indicating the change in the value or ratio of the coin, if the present writer's suggested reading of the legend be accepted (see p. cxlvii).

Local governors had the right of issuing such *fulūs*, just as in the Eastern Provinces before the Coinage Reform the Umayyad governors could strike *dirhams* with their own names, without infringing the Caliph's prerogative of minting (*sikka*). The *fulūs* of Arab-Sassanian type—which are all we are concerned with here—are for the most part rare and usually anonymous.

We have already mentioned in the section on the 'Abbāsid coins of Bukhārā (p. xci) three specific varieties of *dirham* that were issued in that region: (a) *Ghitrifī* *dirhams* (درهم غطريفية); (b) *Muhammadī* *dirhams* (درهم محمدية); and (c) *Musaiyabī* *dirhams* (درهم مسييبة).

All these Bukhārān *dirhams* (درهم بخاري) have according to the Arab writers one feature in common. They are all of base silver. As Ya'kūbī<sup>1</sup> expresses it: 'They are like copper' (شبيه بالنحاس). The extant coins amply support this statement. In this Catalogue they are, therefore, classed as *billon* coins.

The most interesting account of these Bukhārān *dirhams* is contained in a continuation of the passage of Narshakhī quoted above, on p. xciii, regarding Ghitrif ibn 'Atā.<sup>2</sup> When the latter came as 'Abbāsid governor to Khurāsān 'the nobles and notables of Bukhārā came to him saying that they had no silver (سُرْعَة) in the city, and requested him as Amir of Khurāsān to order that silver be struck for them with the same die (سكّة) as the old silver of Bukhārā'. They also stipulated 'that no person should take it from their possession or export it out of the city, so that they might make use of it in their transactions amongst themselves'. The old silver coinage of Bukhārā here referred to must be the Sassanian drachms of Bahrām V (see Plate XXVIII a), which were the prototypes of the native Bukhārān coinage of later days. The

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. Juynboll, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vi, p. 148, gives his name as *Ghitrif ibn 'Attāb*.

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restriction of the proposed new coinage to home circulation had important economic consequences, as we shall see.

Narshakhi continues: 'At that date silver (نقره) was dear. Consequently, the citizens were assembled and asked their opinion on this matter. They agreed that coins should be struck of six substances: gold, silver, musk, lead, iron, and copper. This they did. And with that old die with the name of Ghitrif they struck them, that is to say, Ghitrifi silver (سیم غطریفی), but by the common people they were called Ghidrifi (غدریفی).'<sup>1</sup> The formula of this alloyed coinage may be regarded as fanciful. Moreover, as has been mentioned already, no actual coins of this class bearing the name of Ghitrif have so far come to light. It is also not the case that old dies were recommissioned. What happened was that new dies after the fashion of the old but with new legends were prepared.

Narshakhi, however, does record the important metrological difference: 'the old silver [coinage] was of pure silver (نقره خالص) whereas this silver which they struck with alloy became black'. This is clearly the case in all classes of the 'Abbāsid coins of Bukhārā. Naturally the populace had to be compelled by law to accept them. They were tariffed by the government at six Ghitrifis for a dirham of pure silver (شش غدریفی بیک درهم سنک نقره خالص) and were current at this rate. The effect of this debasement of the currency can readily be imagined. Narshakhi says: 'The *kharāj* (land-tax) of Bukhārā from 200,000 dirhams of silver, or a little less, all at once increased to 1,168,567 Ghitrifi dirhams.'<sup>2</sup> The Ghitrifi, however, rose in value until it was equivalent to a pure silver dirham. In spite of this the scale of taxes remained the same, thus obliging the people of the land to pay six times the original tax. Moreover, the taxes had to be paid in the local currency of Ghitrifis. This led to a further increase in their value, to such an extent that some years afterwards these base metal coins were more valuable than fine silver dirhams.

Incidentally Narshakhi reports a tradition that the Ghitrifis were struck in the Castle of Mākhak (کوشک ماخک) in the city of Bukhārā; the coins themselves have no mint-name. He also makes the statement that 'in every dirham there is an amount of gold, and in every ten dirhams it amounts to the weight of half a dirham up to four dānaks and a half'.<sup>2</sup> An analysis of several specimens made for me by

<sup>1</sup> According to Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> i.e.  $\frac{1}{4}$  dirham, which is absurd. Blake in his interesting article (in *Harvard Journal*

Dr. Plenderleith of the British Museum does not support this. In fact Narshakhi's statement can be taken as an early example of the canard that reappears in modern times in the form of the tale that pennies of Queen Victoria of a certain year contain gold.

Although Sauvaire does not quote Narshakhi in his *Matériaux* he has several briefer references from the Arabic historians and geographers on the subject, but they do not add to any extent to our knowledge and need not be repeated here.<sup>1</sup>

The other two classes of dirhams, the *Muhammadī* and the *Musaiyabī*, have already been considered (p. xci). Like the *Ghitrīfī dirhams* these two classes were said to be restricted to specific regions. Their areas of distribution according to Ibn Khurdadhbih<sup>2</sup> were as follows : (a) *Ghitrīfīs*, Bukhārā; (b) *Muhammadīs*, Farghāna, Sughd, Kish, Nasaf, and Ushrūsana; (c) *Musaiyabīs*, Ilāk, Khojand, and al-Shāsh; all within the territory of the Haiṭal, i.e. the Ephthalite lands of Transoxiana.

## VI. LEGENDS AND EPIGRAPHY

There are four languages with their corresponding scripts employed to express the legends on Arab-Sassanian coins, namely : Pehlevi, Arabic, Ephthalite, and Bukhārān. Many of these legends still present difficulties of elucidation, though most of them are now decipherable. In addition to the coin-legends we find several of the countermarks embodying inscriptions. These are discussed in the section on countermarks (pp. cxlii ff.).

As the Ephthalite and Bukhārān legends have already been considered above (pp. lxv ff. and lxxxv ff.), in so far as our limited knowledge goes, it is unnecessary to consider them any further here. But the Pehlevi and Arabic scripts used on these coins supply us with valuable epigraphic material which is worthy of record. The following tables of the Pehlevi and Kufic (Arabic) characters employed show how liable the inscriptions are to ambiguity, and also the general difficulty of their decipherment, particularly in the case of the names of new governors or of isolated dates and mint-signatures.

*of Asiatic Studies*, ii, Dec.), 'The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol Epoch', p. 304, accepts the possibility of this noble metal content. He, however, betrays no acquaintance with the actual coins. He also mistakenly writes دنیق *danīq*. The Persian text has دنک *dānak*; in the Arabic writers, and on the unique coin quoted above, p. cl, *dānak* occurs. The plural is *dawānik* or *dawānīk*.

<sup>1</sup> See particularly Sauvaire, pp. 191-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vi. 27-8. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 205-6; Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-2.

## PEHLEVI SCRIPT ON ARAB-SASSANIAN COINS

No.	Coin forms	Transliteration of Pehlevi	Corresponding Arabic letters	Transliteration of Arabic
1	ـ	A	ه ع	A ḫ (H)
2	ـ ـ	B	ب	B
3	ـ ـ ـ	়	ص ز ج	Z Z S
4	ـ ـ ـ ـ	D	د	D
5	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	H	خ ح غ	GH H KH H
6	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	U or V	و	U or W
7	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	Z	ج ن	Z J
8	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	I or Y	ى ي	I or Y
9	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	K	ج ق ك	K K J (G)
10	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	L or R	ر ل	L R
11	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	M	م	M
12	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	N	ن	N
13	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	S	س	S
14	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	F or P	ب ف	F B
15	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	SH	ش	SH
16	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	T	د ط ت	T T D

The close resemblance between many of the above Pehlevi letters is obvious. The possible confusion is, however, increased when certain of these are in combination, e.g. ــ, which might be SH, or IS or SI, or DS or SD, &c., or ـــ, which might be AU, HU, AN, HN, AR, or HR. Sometimes a loop is omitted, e.g. ــ (AP, &c.) instead of ـــ. Moreover, these sixteen Pehlevi letters are used as equivalents of the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet, and not always consistently since, as the table indicates, we have the Arabic د (د), ز (়), ب (ـ), and ج (ـ) each differently represented in the Pehlevi script, as can be seen by a comparison of the Pehlevi transliteration of the names Ziyād, 'Azīz, Ḥajjāj,

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and Tabaristān. Moreover, at the end of certain Pehlevi words, e.g. in the word AFZUT:, occurs a vertical stroke which has no phonetic value, but acts as a divisional mark.<sup>1</sup> In the transliteration employed in this Catalogue it is represented by a colon.

The inadequacy of the Pehlevi script is closely rivalled by that of Kufic which has similar drawbacks, as the subjoined table shows. The diacritical points, which in later monumental as well as in cursive forms of Arabic writing served to differentiate consonants of similar outline, are almost completely absent from the present coin-legends.<sup>2</sup>

## KUFIC SCRIPT ON ARAB-SASSANIAN COINS

No.	Modern Arabic	Coin forms		
		(Umayyad period)	(‘Abbāsid period)	
1	ا a	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ	
2	ب b			
3	ت t	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ	
4	ث th			
5	ج j			
6	ه h	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ	
7	خ kh	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ	
8	د d	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	
9	ذ dh	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	
10	ر r	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	
11	ز z	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	
12	س s	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	
13	ش sh	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	
14	ص s̄	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	
15	ض d̄	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ	

<sup>1</sup> H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, Uppsala, i, p. 6, compares it with the *alif* in the Arabic قَلْبٌ or the *virāma* in Sanskrit.

<sup>2</sup> See note to no. 138, p. 189; and coin no. 240, p. 120.

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No.	Modern Arabic	Coin forms		
		(Umayyad period)	('Abbāsid period)	
16	ط t	□ b		
17	ظ z			
18	ع ' {	x -		
19	غ gh			
20	ف f	- o		
21	ق k			
22	ك k	ك ب س د		
23	ل l	ل ن ت د		
24	م m	و و و و و	و و و	
25	ن n	ن ن ن	ن ن ن	
26	ه h	ه ه ه د و و	ه ه ه د و و	
27	و w	و و و	و و و	
28	ي y or i	ي - -	ي ل د س	
lām alif	لـاـ	لـاـ	ـ	

It must always be remembered in deciphering unpointed Kufic legends that the consonants **b**, **t**, **ث**, and **v** or **i** (except in its final form) are indistinguishable, and also that these letters in combination are likewise liable to be confused with the letter **s** or **ش**. In the same way each of the following groups: (i) **ج**, **ه**, **خ**; (ii) **د**, **ذ**; (iii) **ر**, **ز**; (iv) **س**, **ش**; (v) **ص**, **ض**; (vi) **ت**, **ظ**; (vii) **'**, **غ**; and (viii) **ف** and **ك** (except in their final forms) is represented by one character. Added to this is the confusion that naturally arises from the close similarity of certain of the letters, especially in the reduced scale necessary for die engraving.<sup>1</sup>

In the above table the letters as found on these coins have been arranged so as to show certain minutiae of epigraphic development in

<sup>1</sup> A case in point is the marginal legend on the coin of Muḳātil ibn Misma<sup>a</sup> (no. 208) in which the second letter, if joined to the following one, must be a **ك** (which would agree with the interpretation suggested on p. lvii), but if it is not, must be either a **د** or a **ذ**.

their shapes with the passage of time. In the Umayyad period there is definite Pehlevi influence discernible in the outline of certain letters, due no doubt to the employment of old Pehlevi punches in the preparation of the coin-dies. The clearest example of this is in the final *h* (د) which appears as  due to the use of the Pehlevi letter *p* (پ) as a part of the outline. In the 'Abbāsid period there is no trace of this shape amongst the Kufic letters. The evolution of the script is most noticeably demonstrated in two groups: (i) *J*, *H*, *KH*, and (ii) *'*, *GH*. In (i) the final form changes from the archaic  to the more cursive , and in (ii) the ancient open pronged medial shape () is clearly closed at the top () as indeed it is in the modern alphabet (خ). The fact that these modes of script can be dated from the coins on which they occur renders them all the more important for the history of early Arabic epigraphy.<sup>1</sup>

The legends on Arab-Sassanian coins may be classified as follows: (a) Personal names or titles; (b) Dates; (c) Mint-signatures; and (d) Religious and other expressions. Group (a) will be found at the end under Index of Inscriptions; while group (c) is considered at some length under Mint Notes (pp. cii ff.). In group (d) the expressions have been interpreted, wherever possible, either in the Catalogue or in the Notes at the end. The references can easily be found from the Index of Inscriptions. The only other group, (b), that remains to be considered is of some importance, and is given in detail.

### *Dates on Arab-Sassanian Coins*

#### (i) *Pehlevi dates*

No attempt is made in the following list to give an exact epigraphic representation of all the forms of the Pehlevi numerals that occur in the coin-dates recorded in this Catalogue. All the ordinary forms are given, and, in addition, only those date-legends which are sufficiently noteworthy as variants from the norm. Further minutiae can be extracted, if need be, from a close study of the Plates. Indeed, in all cases the evidence of the Plates is in the end, apart from the actual coins, the safest criterion. In transcribing such legends the pen can so easily exaggerate or distort the various curves and strokes of the original. In view of this I have endeavoured to illustrate as many examples as possible in the Plates so as to provide any check that may be required.

<sup>1</sup> The table of Kufic script here given is thus supplementary to that given by Moritz in his valuable article on Arabic epigraphy in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, i, Pl. I, p. 384.

## DATES ON ARAB-SASSANIAN COINS

Year	Coin Forms	Transliteration
11	۲۳	YAJDH
20	۲۰۰ ۲۰۰	VIST
	۱۲۰۰ ۱۲۰۰	VIST:
21	۲۱۰۰	YAJVIST
	۲۰۰۰۰	
25	۲۰۰۰۰	PNJVIST:
	۲۰۰۰۰ ۲۰۰۰۰	PNJ(V)IST, PNJ(V)IST:
26	۱۲۰۰۰ ۱۲۰۰۰ ۱۲۰۰۰	<u>SHSHVIST</u> :
27	۱۲۰۰۰	HFTVIST:
28	[See T. 1, p. 8]	[HSHTVIST]
29	۱۰۰۰	NVJVIST:
30	۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰	SIH, SH
31	۱۰۰ ۱۰۰	YAJSIH, YAJSIH
	۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰	AYUKSH, AYUKISH
32	۱۰۰۰	DVAJSIH
	۱۰۰۰	DUSH
35	۱۰۰۰	PNJSH
37	۱۰۰۰ ۱۰۰۰	HFTSIH, HFTS(IH)
	۱۰۰۰	HFTSI(H)
38	۱۰۰۰	<u>HSHTS(H)</u> ?
39	۱۰۰۰	NVSH
41	۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰	YAJHL
43	۱۰۰ ۱۰۰	SIJHL
44	۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰	JHARJHL, JHARJH(L)
45	۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰	PNJHL, PNJYHIL

Year	Coin Forms	Transliteration
46	<u>SHSHJHL</u>	
47	<u>HFTJHL</u> , <u>HFTJH(L)</u>	
48	<u>HSHTJHL</u>	
49	<u>NVAJHL</u> , <u>NVJHL</u>	
50	<u>PNJAH</u> , <u>PNJA</u>	
51	<u>AYUKPNJA</u> , <u>AYUPNJA</u>	
52	<u>AYPNJA</u>	
53	<u>DUPNJA</u> , <u>DUPNJAH</u>	
54	<u>SIPNJA</u>	
55	<u>SPNJA</u> , <u>SPNJAH</u>	
56	<u>JHRPNJA</u> , <u>JH(R)PNJA</u> <u>PNJPNJA</u>	
57	<u>SHSHPNJA</u> , <u>SH(SH)PNJA</u> <u>SHSHPNJAH</u> , <u>SH(SH)PNJAH</u>	
58	<u>HFTPNAH</u>	
59	<u>HF(T)PNJAH</u>	
60	<u>HSHTPNJA</u>	
61	<u>NAVPNJA</u> <u>NVPNJAH</u>	
62	<u>SHST:</u> <u>SHST</u> <u>AYUKSHST:</u> , <u>AYUKISHST:</u> <u>AYUKISHST</u> , <u>AYUSHST:</u> <u>YAJSHST:</u> <u>DUSHST:</u> <u>TRINSHST:</u> , <u>TRINSH(S)T:</u>	

Year	Coin Forms	Transliteration
63	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	SISHST:, SSHST: SSHST:, SSH(S)T: TLTSHST:, TLTSH(S)T: JHARSHST:, JHRSHT: JHRSH(S)T:
64	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	
65	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	PNJSHST
66	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	SHSHSHST:, SH(S)SHST:
67	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	HFTSHST:, HF(T)SHST: HF(T)SHST:, HF(T)SH(S)T: HF(TSH)ST:, HFTSH(S)T:
68	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	HSHTSHST:, HSHTSH(S)T:
69	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	NVSHST:, NVSHST: NVSHS(T), NAVSHST:
70	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	HFTAT:, HFTAT
71	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	AYHFTAT
72	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	YAJHFTAT: DUHFTAT:, DUHFTAT DUHFT(A)T
73	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	SIHFTAT:
74	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	SHTAT JHARHFTAT, JHRHFTAT
75	שִׁשְׁתָּחַת שִׁשְׁתָּחַת	PNJHFTAT:, PNJHFTAT

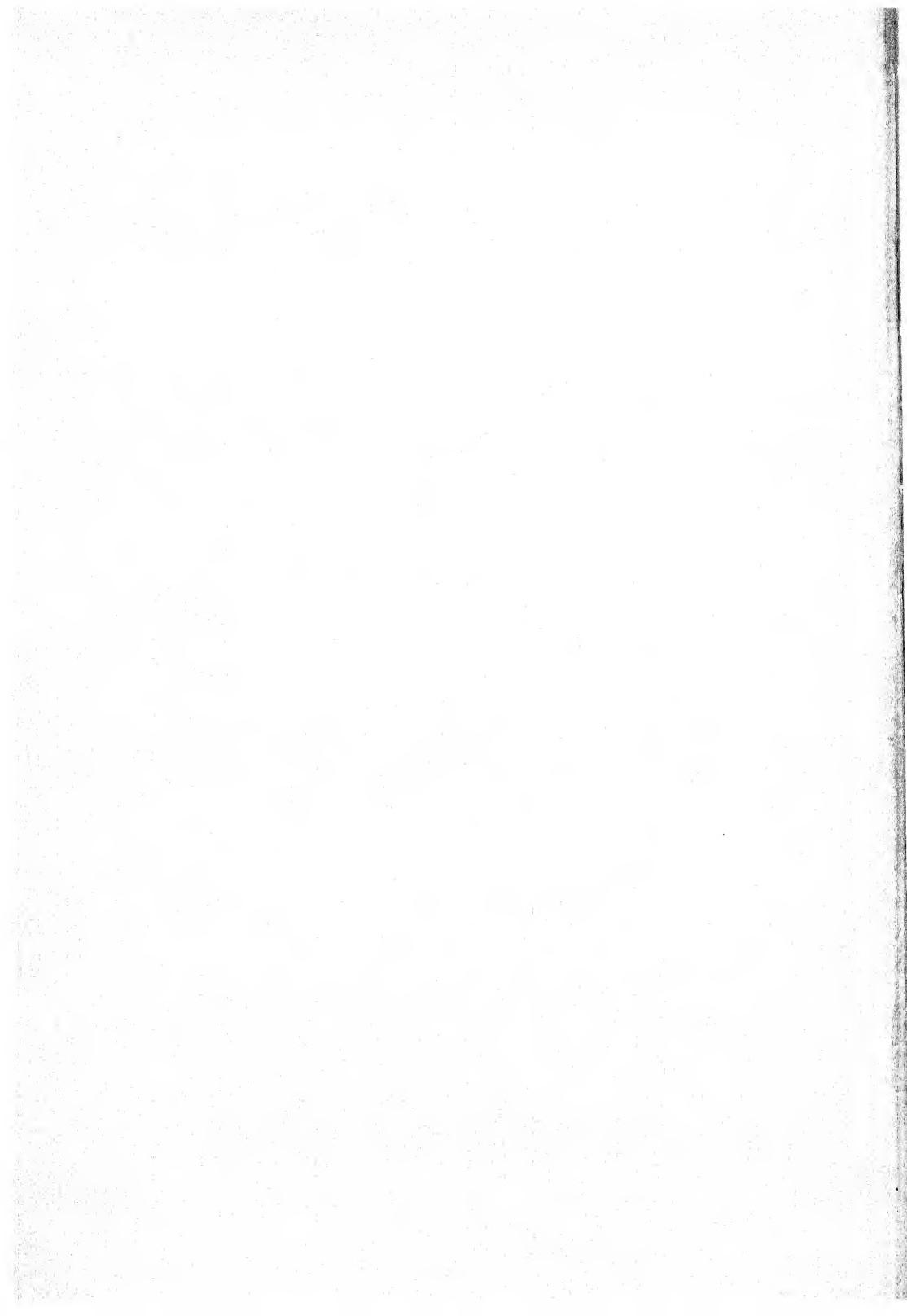
## INTRODUCTION

Year	Coin Forms	Transliteration
76	SHSHHFTAT	SHSHHFTAT
	SH(SH)HFTAT	SH(SH)HFTAT
77	HFTHFTAT	HFTHFTAT
78	HSHTHFTAT	HSHTHFTAT
79	NAVHFTAT	NAVHFTAT
80	HSHTAT	HSHTAT
81	AYUHSHTAT	AYUHSHTAT
82	DUUHSHTAT	DUUHSHTAT
83	SHSHHTAT	SHSHHTAT
110	DHST:	DHST:
111	YAJDHST:	YAJDHST:
112	AYUKDHST:	AYUKDHST:
112	DUVAJD(H)ST	DUVAJD(H)ST
114	JHARDHST:	JHARDHST:
116	SHSHHDHST	SHSHHDHST
117	HFTDHST	HFTDHST
118	HSHTDHST	HSHTDHST
119	NVAJDHST:	NVAJDHST:
120	VISTST:	VISTST:
121	AYUKVISTST	AYUKVISTST
122	VISTDUST:	VISTDUST:
123	SIVISTST	SIVISTST
124	JHARVISTST	JHARVISTST
125	PNJVISTST	PNJVISTST
126	SHSHVISTST	SHSHVISTST
127	HFTVISTST:	HFTVISTST:

Year	Coin Forms	Transliteration
128		HSHTVISTST
129		NUVISTST
130		SIVST:
131		AIYUKSIVST
		AIYUKSIST
132		DUSIVST:, SIVDUST:
133		SSIVST, SSIIVST: SISIVST
134		ŽHARSIVST, ŽHARSIST ŽHRSIVST:
135		PNŽSIVST
136		SHSHSIVST:
		SHSHSIVST, SHSHSIST:
137		HFTSIVST:
138		HSHTSIVST
		HSHTSIVST:
139		NAVSIVST
140		ŽHILST:
141		AYUKŽHILST
142		DUŽHILST:
143		SIŽHILST:
161		AYKSHSTST

(ii) *Arabic dates*

It is only in exceptional cases that the dates on these Arab-Sassanian coins are expressed in Arabic. The only instances are as follows: N. 1 and DD. 1 on p. 23 (both with defective spelling of numeral), and I. 58 on p. 174.



## CATALOGUE

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
<b>I. THE UMAIYAD GOVERNORS IN THE EAST</b>				
(a) SASSANIAN PROTOTYPES				
a	64.2 4.16	A. 1-3	<p><i>Yezdigird III (A.D. 632-651)</i></p> <p>Bust of the Sassanian king, bearded, with flowing curly hair bunched at the back, facing r. and wearing a diadem head-dress studded with two rows of pearls, surmounted by a crest consisting of two wide-spread wings, one on either side of a central star and crescent; r. of the crown a small star and crescent; l. a small star; over l. shoulder a small crescent; the dress is adorned with rows of pearls; three pearls in the form of a triangular pendant . . form the ear-ring and breast-ornament; a small star and crescent (usually) adorns each shoulder; above each shoulder is a fillet ; in the field r. downwards the name-legend in Pehlevi <b>YZDKRT</b>: (i.e. Yezdigird); l. downwards behind the head in two lines the Pehlevi invocation:</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>AFZUT   GDH</b> (i.e. May kingship increase!);</p>	<p>In centre Sassanian fire-altar raised on three steps with an attendant priest or <i>mōbedh</i> on either side standing facing; at the top of the flames rising from the altar l. a small star and r. a small crescent; in the field r. downwards in Pehlevi the mint-signature <b>DA</b> (i.e. Dārābjird); l. downwards in Pehlevi the date <b>VIST</b> (i.e. twenty); all enclosed within a triple circle; outer margin divided into quarters by star and crescent top, bottom, r., and l.</p>

*a* The coins struck by the Arabs after this prototype are described below, pp. 3-5. The representative specimen described above is in the British Museum.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			all enclosed within a double circle broken at the top by the plumes of the royal crown; in outer margin a star and crescent l., r., and bottom, similar to the one above the crown, divides the space into four segments; in second quarter Pehlevi legend <i>šur</i> (?).	Pl. I. a.
<i>β</i>	64.2 4.16	AR 1.3	<i>Khusrau II</i> (A.D. 590-628)  Typical Sassanian bust as described above, only clearer in detail; name-legend <i>šur HUSRUI</i> or <i>HUSRUB</i> (i.e. <i>Khusrau</i> ); no marginal legend.	Typical Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as described above; but mint-signature <i>šur RIU</i> ; date <i>šur</i> = <i>YAJSIH</i> (i.e. thirty-one). Pl. I. β.
<i>γ</i>	42.4 2.75	AR 1.15	<i>Hormuzd IV</i> (A.D. 579-590)  Typical Sassanian bust as described above, but details less clear; no wings on crown; hair at back in form of a rosette of pearls <i>✿</i> ; name-legend <i>[šur] AUHRMZI</i> (partly obliterated); behind the head <i>šur AFZU</i> : (sic); no marginal legend.	Typical Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as described above; mint signature <i>šur</i> = <i>ZUZUA</i> (?); date <i>šur</i> = <i>SHTA</i> (i.e. six); no trace of star and crescents in margin; the head-dress of the attendants is different from the customary form found on Arab-Sassanian coins; it is conical in shape and falls down in flaps on either side. Pl. XXX. γ.

*β* The coins struck by the Arabs after this prototype are described below, pp. 5 ff. The above representative specimen is in the British Museum.

*γ* The only example, so far known, of a coin of the Arab-Sassanian series based on the above prototype is described below, p. 24. The coin described above is in the British Museum.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

3

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			A. <i>With the name of the Sassanian king</i> (i) <i>With the name of Yezdigird III</i> Year 20 Y.E. = A.H. 31 Merv	
1	62.6 4.06	AR 1.25	Usual Sassanian bust as on prototype $\alpha$ above; similar Pehlevi legends, but in place of Pehlevi in second quarter of the margin there is an Arabic legend in Kufic script  = جَدَّ (i.e. excellent).	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as on prototype $\alpha$ above, but small star r. and crescent l. of flames respectively; mint-signature no. 40 = MR (i.e. Merv); date  = VIST: Pl. I. 1.
Th. 1	59.0 3.82	AR 1.3	As above.	Mint Uncertain As above, but small star l. and crescent r. of flames; mint-signature no. 60 = BJ (?); date written thus:  = VIST. Pl. XXX. 2.
2	61.4 3.98	AR 1.3	As no. 1 above, but marginal legend (double-struck) in Arabic $\text{الله}$ (i.e. in the name of Allah).	Nahr-Tirā As no 1 above, but mint-signature no. 44 = NHR; date defective VST: Pl. I. 2.
B. 1	32.4 2.10	AR 1	As no. 1 above [margin clipped almost obliterating the marginal legend in second quarter].	As no. 1 above, but star l. and crescent r. of flames; mint-signature no. 44 b = NHR (cf. no. 2 above); date written thus:  = VIST. Pl. XXX. 3.

Th. 1. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

2. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

B. 1. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 84, Pl. II).

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Sistān				
3	56.2 3.64	AR 1.3	As no. 1 above, but even cruder workmanship; name-legend <del>ABD</del> YZKRT; marginal legend as on no. 2; countermark no. 10 in first quarter.	As no. 1 above, but mint-signature no. 52 a = SK; star l. and crescent r. of flames; date VIST.  Pl. I. 3.
4	60 3.88	AR 1.35	As above; very rough workmanship [edge cut in third quarter]; countermark no. 11.	As above [badly scored].  Pl. I. 4.
5	49.8 3.23	AR 1.25	As no. 3 above; countermark no. 9 in first quarter.	As no. 3 above; neater workmanship.  Pl. I. 6.
6	56 3.62	AR 1.3	As no. 4 above.	As no. 4 above.  Pl. I. 5.
7	47.3 3.06	AR 1.25	As no. 3 above, but without countermark [surface blobbed and marginal legend partly obliterated].	As no. 3 above [margin blobbed].
8	39.6 2.57	AR 1.05	As above, but marginal legend written thus: <del>ABD</del> <sup>YZKRT</sup> [clipped].	As above [clipped].  Pl. I. 7.
9	53.7 3.48	AR 1.2	As above, but much neater workmanship.	As above, but much neater workmanship.  Pl. I. 8.
10	61.7 4.00	AR 1.3	As above, but cruder in style.	As above, but cruder in style; date almost obliterated.  Pl. I. 9.

3. A. Cunningham 1857.

6. India Office Collection presented 1882.

7, 8. G. Smith and H. Rassam (from Nineveh excavations) presented 1878.

9. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936. 10. Prof. T. O. Mabbott presented 1936.

5. Major Hay 1860.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

5

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 1			<p>Year 21 Y.E. = A.H. 32</p> <p>al-Raiy</p> <p>The sole authority for this year and mint is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1880, p. 160, no. 560). The coin was in his own collection. Unfortunately it was not illustrated. If correctly interpreted it is the only coin of Yezdigird with such a date. Mordtmann of course did not interpret the mint-signature correctly. Miles (<i>op. cit.</i>, p. 5) has accepted this coin and date as the earliest evidence of the mint activities of the Muhammadans in Raiy. See, however, Introduction (Mint Notes).</p>	
I. 1			<p>(ii) With the name of <u>Khusrau II</u></p> <p>(a) <i>With mint and date in Pehlevi</i></p> <p>Year 20 Y.E. = A.H. 31</p> <p>The only coin of <u>Khusrau II</u> recorded of this year is the one in the Istanbul Museum (<i>Catalogue</i>, no. 1) and said to be of the mint HRA, but when I examined the coin in question I found it was really an ordinary coin of Yezdigird III of this year and of the mint SK, just as on no. 3 above. It is noteworthy that the same mint-signature no. 52 was also misinterpreted as HRA by the same cataloguer in the case of a coin of the year 28 (<i>ibid.</i>, no. 2).</p>	
ETN. 1	AR 1.15		<p>Year 21 Y.E. = A.H. 32</p> <p>Merv</p> <p>Usual bust of Sassanian king; royal name r. downwards  HUSRUI (or HUSRUB); rest of the coin similar to prototype <math>\beta</math> above, except that there is an Arabic legend in the second quarter of the margin:  ; finer workmanship than the preceding coins of Yezdigird III.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; small star l. and small crescent r. of flames as on prototype <math>\beta</math>; mint-signature no. 40 = MR (i.e. Merv); date  = YAJVIST.</p>

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Year 25 Airan (Sūsa)	
11	48.6 3.15	AR 1.1	As ETN. 1 above [slightly clipped].	As ETN. 1 above, but mint-signature no. 5 = AIR; date <del>١٢٣٦</del> = PNJVIST: <b>Pl. II. 1.</b>
ANS. 1		AR 1.2	As no. 11 above, but marginal legend in second quarter written thus: • ﷺ سَمْ	As no. 11 above, but mint-signature no. 12 = BISH; date <del>١٢٣٦</del> = PNJ(v)IST. <b>Pl. XXX. 4.</b>
12	50 3.23	AR 1.2	As no. 11 above [cracked across face, and pierced in second and fourth quarters].	As no. 11 above, but mint-signature no. 48 = RD; date written thus: <del>١٢٣٦</del> = PNJ(v)IST: <b>Pl. XXX. 5.</b>
I. 2		AR	Usual type.	Merv Usual type; mint-signature no. 40 = MR; date as on no. 11 above.
B. 2	61.8 4.00	AR 1.25	As no. 12 above.	Nihāvand As no. 12 above; mint-signature no. 43 a = NH; date as on no. 11 above. <b>Pl. XXX. 6.</b>
I. 3		AR	Year 26 Hamadhān	Usual type. Usual type; mint-signature no. 4 = AHM; date <del>١٢٣٦</del> = SHSHVIST:

11. Count de Salis (ex Ismail Pasha Collection) presented 1862.

ANS. 1. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

12. Spink 1938. I. 2. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

B. 2. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 92, Pl. II).

I. 3. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

7

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 2			Bishāpūr	
			The sole authority for this year and mint is Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1879, p. 84, no. 4). The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Apparently its margin had only the legend $\text{الله} \text{ بس}$ . Unfortunately it was not illustrated.	
M. 3			Sistān	
			The sole authority for this year and mint is Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1865, p. 464, no. 148), who read the mint-signature (no. 52) as Yezd. The coin was in the Prokesch-Osten Collection. Unfortunately it was not reproduced.	
ETN. 2			Nihāvand	
	AR 1.1	As no. 11 above [coin slightly clipped].	As no. 11 above, but mint-signature no. 43 a = NH, date <del>م</del> <sup>هـ</sup> شهیست:	Pl. II. 3.
M. 4			al-Raiy	
			The sole authority for this year and mint is Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1879, p. 84, no. 3). There was a specimen in the collection of Subhi Pasha and in Mordtmann's own cabinet. Apparently the marginal legend was $\text{الله} \text{ بس} \text{ ربي}$ and the weight 49·4 gr. (3·2 grm.). The mint-signature was no. 48 which Mordtmann wrongly interpreted as ZD = Zadracarta. Judging by the marginal legend I should be inclined to believe that the coin was really of a later date. Unfortunately, as it was not illustrated, it is impossible to confirm this. Miles ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 5, no. 2) accepts it as above and regards the date as in the Hijra era. See Introduction (Mint Notes).	
RB. 1	59·1 3·83	AR 1·3	Year 27	Ardashir-Khurra
			As no. 11.	As no. 11, but mint-signature no. 9 = ART; date <del>م</del> <sup>هـ</sup> شهیست:
				Pl. II. 4.

ETN. 2. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

R.B. 1. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Sch. 1			Nahr-Tirā	A coin of this year and mint-signature no. 44 (though read as NAR) was reported in the Michael Sale (2nd Part, Schulman, March 1914, p. 28, no. 387). The margin was $\text{الله}$ $\text{سُبْحَانَهُ}$ only. I have been unable to trace the coin to verify this statement.
T. 1			Year 28 Sistān	Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1850, p. 282, no. 48) recorded a coin of this year and mint-signature (no. 52) which he read as Yezd. As he did not illustrate it, verification is impossible. It had $\text{الله}$ $\text{سُبْحَانَهُ}$ in the margin. Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1854, p. 150, no. 749) and Tiesenhausen (no. 72) interpreted the mint-signature as AD for <u>Adharbajān</u> . It should be borne in mind also that coins dated 38 and 48 are liable to be read as 28. So far I have not seen an indubitable example of the year 28 on Arab-Sassanian coins.
I. 4			Herāt	The coin of this year and mint reported in the Istanbul Museum ( <i>Catalogue</i> , no. 2) has actually the mint-signature no. 52, and the date is really 48. A similar misinterpretation of this mint-signature was made in the case of no. 1 in the same catalogue. See above, p. 5.
M. 5			Nihāvand	The earliest authority for this mint and year is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 84, no. 5). The coin was in his own cabinet. Apparently the marginal legend was $\text{الله}$ $\text{سُبْحَانَهُ}$ only. Mordtmann read the mint-signature as WH = Bih Kobad. De Morgan ( <i>Revue Numismatique</i> , 1907, p. 86) had one in his own collection said to be of this date. He read the mint-signature correctly. Unfortunately the coin was not illustrated, so that it is impossible to vouch for the date.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 6			Year 29 <b>Ardashir-Khurra</b>	The sole authority for this year and mint is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 84, no. 7, where, however, the mint-signature is wrongly interpreted as UT). Apparently the marginal legend was <b>الله</b> <b>سب</b> only. The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. It has never been illustrated so that its data might be verified.
I. 5				Başra
13	62.1 4.02	AR 1.25	Usual type; marginal legend <b>الله</b> <b>سب</b> .	Usual type; mint-signature no. 43 a = NH; date <b>عَامِيَّة</b> = NVJVIST: <b>Pl. II. 8.</b>
M. 7				al-Raiy
M. 8				The sole authority for this year and mint is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 84, no. 6 where, however, the mint-signature no. 48 is wrongly interpreted as ZD = Zadra-carta = Hekatompulos). Apparently the marginal legend was as above. The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Miles ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 6, no. 3) accepts it as having a Hijra date. See Introduction (Mint Notes).
				Uncertain Mint
				Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1865, p. 464, no. 150) records a coin of this year with mint-signature no. 49 in the collection of Subhi Pasha. He ascribed it to Sīstān (Segestan). Instead of the usual <b>الله</b> <b>سب</b> formula in the margin it had a legend which Mordtmann interpreted as the Arabic for Muhammad. The outline of this legend which he reproduces  is epigraphically suspect for this early period, and I consider that the coin in question should not be classed as Arab-Sassanian. It almost certainly belongs to the same class as T 2 below, p. 14.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<i>Year 30</i> Dārābjird	
14	61.8 4.00	AR 1.3	Usual type; margin *: ﷺ	Usual type; mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date — = SIH. <b>Pl. II. 9.</b>
ETN. 3		AR 1.1	As above, but marginal legend ( <i>sic</i> ) ﷺ	As above. <b>Pl. XXX. 7.</b>
15	51.0 3.30	AR 1.15	As no. 14, but tiny crescent below ear-pendant; marginal legend defec-tively written ﷺ [slight corrosion over star and crescent l.].	As above, but mint-signature no. 19 = DR; margin C* [corroded in first quarter]. <b>Pl. II. 10.</b>
ETN. 4		AR 1.2	As above, but marginal legend correctly written as on no. 14.	As above. <b>Pl. XXX. 8.</b>
			Nihāvand	
RB. 2	61.8 4.00	AR 1.25	Usual type; no small star l. of crown; margin *: ﷺ	Usual type; small star r. and crescent l. of flames; mint-signature no. 43 b = NH; date — = SIH. <b>Pl. III. 1.</b>

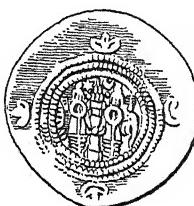
14. R. B. Whitehead 1922.

ETN. 3. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

15. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

ETN. 4. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

RB. 2. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
C. 1	42.4 2.75	AR 1.15		
16	55.4 3.59	AR 1.25	<p>There is a coin of this mint-signature and date recorded in the Copenhagen Collection (<i>Ostrup</i>, no. 61), although the old interpretation of the mint-signature as ZD (= Zadracarta) is followed. But an examination of a cast of the coin kindly supplied to me by Dr. Galster and illustrated above (fig. 1) shows, in my opinion, that it does not belong to the Arab-Sassanian series at all but must be regarded as a rare variety of the regular Sassanian coinage. The remarkable marginal legend is certainly not Arabic, though I do not venture to interpret it as Pehlevi. The date also is problematical.</p>	<p>al-Raiy</p> <p>al-Shirajān ?</p> <p>Pl. III. 2.</p>
M. 9			<p>Year 31</p> <p>Hamadhān</p> <p>Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 85, no. 9) records a coin of this year and mint in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Apparently the marginal legend was <math>\text{بسم الله}</math>. It has never been illustrated.</p>	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 10			<b>Bishāpūr</b>	
			Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 85, no. 8) records a coin of this year and mint in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Dorn ( <i>Mélanges Asiatiques</i> , ii, p. 391) attributes a coin to this mint with probable date 32 or 31. As the coin apparently bore the marginal legend <b>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم</b> I should be inclined to place it at a later date (cf. below nos. 22-23). See Tiesenhausen, no. 75.	
C. 2			<b>Merv</b>	
			The coin mentioned in the Copenhagen Cabinet (no. 69) of this mint and date is actually an ordinary coin of the Sassanian series without any trace of Arabic. The marginal legend, as I have been able to see from a cast kindly sent me by Dr. Galster, is Pehlevi <b>ز</b> (AFD).	
			<b>Istakhr</b>	
17	52.7 3.41	R 1.15	Usual type; margin <b>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم</b>	Usual type; mint-signature no. 53 = ST; date <b>س</b> = YAJSIH. Pl. III. 3.
			<b>Year 32</b>	
				al-Raiy
18	58.4 3.78	R 1.3	Usual type; <b>الله</b> in second quarter; countermarks no. 39 in first quarter and no. 14 over the bottom star and crescent.	Usual type; mint-signature no. 48 a = RD; date <b>س</b> = DVAJSIH. Pl. III. 4.
			<b>Year 33</b>	
				Nihāvand
M. 11			The sole authority for this year and mint is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 85, no. 10). Apparently the marginal legend was as on no. 18 above. The coin was in his own cabinet, but unfortunately he did not illustrate it.	
			<b>Year 34</b>	
			None of this year so far recorded.	

17. M. Eustache de Lorey presented 1923.

18. India Office Collection presented 1882.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Zam. 1			<p>Year 35</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Bishāpūr</p> <p>Zambaur (<i>Kollektion Ernst Prinz zu Windisch-Grätz</i>, p. 9, no. 3) mentions a coin of this mint and year with بسم الله in the second quarter but with a puzzling legend ﴿ in the third quarter. Unfortunately the coin is not reproduced. It must also be borne in mind that the date 35 (سَعْدَةٌ) is liable to be confused with the date 50 (سَعْدَةٌ). In the case of the latter the main determining feature is the presence of the fuller legend بسم الله ربِّي, cf. Pl. III, nos. 5, 6, 7. The coin in the Berlin Museum (<i>Nützel</i>, no. 85) is an example of this difficulty. It ought, in my opinion, to be dated year 50 (q.v.). Thomas (<i>J.R.A.S.</i>, 1850, p. 282) recorded a specimen of this date and mint but did not reproduce it. Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1854, p. 150, no. 751) and Tiesenhausen (no. 76) repeated this without having seen the coin.</p>	
19	61·6 3·99	R 1·35	<p>Usual type; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بسم الله ربِّي</p>	<p>Usual type; mint-signature no. 11 = BH; date سَعْدَةٌ = PNJSH.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. III. 6.</p>
20	61·7 4·00	R 1·3	<p>As above; countermark no. 2 in fourth quarter.</p>	<p>As above; but mint-signature no. 59 = N or A or ZU or S, &amp;c.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. III. 7.</p>
M. 12			<p style="text-align: right;">Mint MIB? (۴۶)</p> <p>The sole authority for this year and mint-signature is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 85, no. 12) who interpreted the mint-signature as Meibud. Apparently the margin was بسم الله ربِّي, and the coin weighed 3·5 grm. (54·0 gr.). It was in Mordtmann's own collection, but unfortunately it was never reproduced. This mint-signature never occurs to my knowledge on Arab-Sassanian coins. Probably Mordtmann misread the mint-signature no. 40 or 40 a = MR (i.e. Merv).</p>	

19. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.  
20. India Office Collection presented 1882.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
K. 1			al-Raiy	
			Karabacek ( <i>Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte</i> , vol. i, 1865, p. 67, no. 119) describes a coin of this year and mint, although with the old attribution to ZD = Zadra-carta. The margin had <b>الله</b> <b>بسم</b> . Miles ( <i>op. cit.</i> , no. 5 x) regards the date as A.H. See Introduction (Mint Notes).	
T. 2			<i>Additional</i> Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1850, p. 283) mentions a coin in the Masson Collection with the mint-signature ZND (he gives the modern Pehlevi transcription <b>زند</b> ). Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1854, p. 150, no. 754) accepts this but reads the mint-signature as RIU. From Thomas's description it appears that the coin bore the remarkable Kufic legend <b>محمد ولی الله</b> . From his transcription of this on his Plate II, fig. 20 ( <b>تم</b> , <b>عاصم</b> ) it is obvious that this rendering is epigraphically impossible. The script is neither Kufic nor Pehlevi, but some form of writing resembling that on what I have termed the Arab-Ephthalite coins (see below, p. 127). The coin in question is actually now in the British Museum, having been part of the India Office Collection presented in 1882. As it bears no trace of having been minted by the Arabs I have not included it here. Miles ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 6, no. 5 x) has also noted that the supposed Kufic legend is not Kufic and has rejected the coin from this series. (Cf. M. 8 above, p. 9.)	
T. 3			Thomas ( <i>ibid.</i> , p. 282) also mentions a coin of the same mint and year of the <b>الله بسم</b> type (= Mordtmann, <i>ibid.</i> , no. 753; Tiesenhausen, no. 78), but I have been unable to confirm this. Miles ( <i>op. cit.</i> , no. 5 x) has condemned it with the foregoing specimen, in spite of the <i>basmala</i> in the margin.	
I. 6		<b>AR</b>	<i>Year 36</i> None so far recorded.	
			<i>Year 37</i> Airan (Sūsa)	
		Usual type.		Usual type; mint-signature no. 5 = AIR; date <b>سوسا</b> = HFTSIH.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
I. 7			Bishāpūr	
			The coin in the Istanbul Museum ( <i>Catalogue</i> , no. 4) of this year ascribed to the above mint really bears the mint-signature of Nihāvand and is described below (I. 8).	
			Sīstān	
21	61 3.95	AR 1.3	Usual type; margin:  بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ countermark no. 45 in first quarter.	Usual type; mint-signature no. 52 c = SK; date <del>مَوْعِدٌ</del> = HFTS(IH) or HF(T)SH; small star r. and small crescent l. of flames. Pl. III. 8.
I. 8		AR	Usual type.	Usual type; mint-signature no. 45 = NIH; date <del>مَوْعِدٌ</del> = HFTSI.
			Nihāvand	
RB. 3	61.4 3.98	AR 1.25	Usual type; margin * <del>الله</del> <del>بِسْمِ</del> (sic)	Usual type; mint-signature no. 48 = RD; date HFTSIH. Pl. III. 9.
P. 1	60.9 3.95	AR 1.25	As RB. 3 above; but marginal legend in second quarter (sic) <del>الله</del> <del>بِسْمِ</del>	As RB. 3 above. Pl. XXX. 9.
			al-Raiy	
			Year 38?	
			Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 85) stated that he had never seen any example with this date. My own experience is that I have never seen any clear and indubitable instance of this date on any of the coins of this type. But one or two defectively written specimens may just possibly bear this date. With this <i>caveat</i> the following mints are recorded:	

21. India Office Collection presented 1882 = Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 282).

I. 8. Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, no. 4, where the mint signature was read, however, as = BISH).

RB. 3. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.

P. 1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Lavoix*, no. 138).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ANS. 2	AR 1.2		Bishāpūr Usual type; margin بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ	Usual type; mint-signature no. 12 = BISH; date (?) <del>م٢٩٣</del> for HSHTSIH (?). Pl. III. 10.
ETN. 5	AR 1.15		Sistān Usual type; margin بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ	Usual type; mint-signature no. 52 c = SK; date HSHT(SIH ?). Pl. IV. 1.
M. 13			Year 39 Ardashir-Khurra	The authority for this year and mint-signature (no. 9) is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 85, no. 15). It was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Apparently the marginal legend was بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ. Mordtmann read the mint-signature as UT. This is no doubt the same coin previously ascribed to this year by Djevdet-Éfendi (in <i>J.A.</i> , 1862, p. 157).
M. 14			Bishāpūr Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1858, p. 50, no. 290) records a coin of this year and mint-signature (which he read as BASSA) in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Zambaur ( <i>Kollektion Ernst Prinz zu Windisch-Grätz</i> , p. 9, no. 4) records another specimen (weight 3.95 grm.) with marginal legend بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ. As none of these coins is illustrated it is impossible to decide whether the date may not have been م٢٩٣, i.e. 49 (cf. below, no. 31, Pl. IV. 10), which might easily be read as NVAJSI (i.e. 39), though I prefer to regard it as NVAJHL (cf. Pl. IV. nos. 9 and 10). The same applies to the coin recorded by Dorn ( <i>Mélanges Asiatiques</i> , ii, p. 391 = Tiesenhausen, no. 82).	

ANS. 2. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York (ex Rev. J. B. Nies Collection).  
 ETN. 5. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<i>Year 40</i> None of this year so far noted.	
M. 15			<i>Year 41</i> <b>Bishāpūr</b> The sole authority for this year and mint-signature is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 86, no. 16). The coin was in his own collection and had the marginal legend <b>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم</b> (i.e. in the name of Allah, the King). The mint-signature he wrongly interpreted as BASSA.	
I. 9	AR		Usual type.	Usual type; mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date <u>دعا</u> = YAJHL.
M. 16			<i>Year 42</i> <b>Bishāpūr</b> The sole authority for this year and mint is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1850, p. 505, no. 2; 1854, pp. 150-1, no. 756; 1879, p. 86). The coin was in the Borrell Collection. Apparently the marginal legend was <b>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم</b> though Mordtmann read the last word as <b>ولي</b> . The date was of the form DVAJJHL.	
T. 4			<i>Year 43.</i> The specimen of this year described by Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1871, p. 430, no. 2) which Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 86, no. 17) accepts and attributes to Raj (i.e. Raiy) is not Arab-Sassanian at all, but a regular coin of Khusrau II with marginal legend in Pehlevi <u>3aw</u> (i.e. AFD) which Thomas wrongly interpreted as being equal to 'ABD in Arabic.	
I. 10			The coin of the mint of Dārābjird ascribed to this year in the Istanbul Museum Cabinet ( <i>Catalogue</i> , no. 5) is in my opinion of the year 41 (see above, I. 9).	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Year 44 None of this year so far recorded.	
			Year 45 Bishāpūr	
ANS. 3	AR 1.15	Usual type; margin بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (i.e. in the name of Allah, the King) [edge clipped].	Usual type; mint-signature no. 12 = BISH; date ١٢٠٣ = PNJHL.	Pl. IV. 2.
T. 5			Mint BI (?) The coin described by Thomas [J.R.A.S., 1850, p. 283 (b) = Tiesenhausen, no. 88] and accepted by Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1854, p. 151, no. 757) in his list under this date and ascribed to Bihistun, is really not Arab-Sassanian at all. The so-called Kufic marginal legend which Thomas believed was $\text{ا} \text{l}$ (i.e. to Allah) is actually the first two letters of the common Pehlevi word $\text{ب} \text{ا} \text{n}$ (= AFD, i.e. Praise) and the coin in question ought to have been classed in the ordinary Sassanian series. The same criticism applies to the similar coin of the year 47 (Thomas, <i>ibid.</i> (c), and Mordtmann, <i>ibid.</i> , no. 758 = Tiesenhausen, no. 91).	
Th. 2	67.3 4.36	AR 1.25	Usual type, but the following details are omitted : small star l. and small star and crescent r. of crown, small star and crescent on r. and l. shoulder; also in first quarter uncertain legend $\text{ب} \text{ا} \text{n}$ (?); in second quarter $\text{ب} \text{س} \text{م} \text{ الل} \text{ل} \text{ه}$ ; and in third quarter $\text{ر} \text{ي} \text{ب}$ .	Usual type, but no star l. and no crescent r. of flames; mint-signature no. 52 a = sk; date faint, but almost certainly ١٢٠٦ = PNJHL. Pl. II. 2.

ANS. 3. American Numismatic Society, New York.

Th. 2. Philip Thorburn Collection, London. Cf. Th. 3 below, p. 22.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

19

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Year 46</i>				Dārābjird
Ties. 1			<p>Tiesenhausen (no. 2691) reports a coin in the Stroganoff Collection which was of this date and with mint-signature no. 17 = DA. Apparently the margin was <math>\therefore \ddot{\alpha} \therefore</math> <math>\text{الله بسم}</math>. Unfortunately it was not illustrated.</p>	
<i>Year 47</i>				Bishāpūr
22	56.6 3.67	AR 1.25	Usual type; margin $\text{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم}$ [edge broken in two places].	Usual type; mint-signature no. 12 = BISH; date $\text{هـ ١٢٣}$ = HFTJHL; there is a pellet in front of mint. Pl. IV. 3.
23	55.2 3.58	AR 1.25	As above, but countermarks nos. 10 and 21 in first quarter, no. 1 in third quarter, and no. 3 in fourth quarter.	As above, but without pellet in front of mint. Pl. IV. 4.
Zaranj				
24	42.7 2.77	AR 1.2	Usual type; margin cut off at bottom l. so that only $\text{الله بسم}$ is visible in second quarter, and it is impossible to tell whether there was any additional portion of the formula in the third quarter.	Usual type; mint-signature no. 57 = ZR; date $\text{هـ ١٢٥}$ = HFTJH(L). Pl. IV. 5.
<i>Year 48</i>				Bishāpūr
25	54.8 3.55	AR 1.25	Usual type; margin $\text{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم}$ (sic)	Usual type; mint-signature no. 12 = BISH; date $\text{هـ ١٢٦}$ = HSHTJHL. Pl. IV. 6.

22. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1925.

23. India Office Collection presented 1882.

24. G. Smith and H. Rassam (from Nineveh excavations) presented 1878.

25. M. Eustache de Lorey presented 1923.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
RB. 4	62.4 4.04	AR 1.35	As above, but marginal legend correctly written ; countermark no. 3 in fourth quarter.	As above, but mint-signature no. 12 c; date <del>م ۱۲۴</del> ; margin .. <sup>*</sup> <b>Pl. XXXI. 1.</b>
ANS. 4		AR 1.1	As above [holed on r. shoulder; edge clipped].	Merv As above, but mint-signature no. 40 a = MR; date as on no. 25; pellet in front of mint-signature; no additional pellets in margin. <b>Pl. IV. 7.</b>
26	55.6 3.60	AR 1.3	Usual type; margin بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم uncertain countermark partly covers legend in second quarter.	Sistān Usual type; mint-signature no. 52 c = SK(?) ; date defective at end HSHTJH(L) (?) <b>Pl. IV. 8.</b>
27	61.5 3.99	AR 1.25	As no. 26, but breast-ornament <del>و</del> ; marginal legend has pellet missing l. of <del>و</del> ; no countermarks.	As no. 26, but date <del>م ۱۲۴</del> (sic) = HSHTJHL. <b>Pl. II. 5.</b>
28	61.6 3.99	AR 1.3	As above, but breast-ornament as on no. 26; the marginal legends, apparently the same as on no. 26, are partly obliterated by countermarks, nos. 39 (twice) and 14 in first quarter, and no. 38 in third quarter.	As above. <b>Pl. II. 6.</b>

RB. 4. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.

ANS. 4. American Numismatic Society, New York.

27, 28. India Office Collection presented 1882.

26. Eden Collection 1853.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
29	61.4 3.98	AR 1.3	As above, but with two countermarks only; no. 38 in first quarter and the same in the third quarter.	As above, but pellet l. of mint-signature.  <b>Pl. II. 7.</b>
<i>Year 49</i>				
30	48.1 3.12	AR 1.15	Usual type; margin بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ; pellet l. and r. of crescent indistinct (but cf. no. 31) [edge clipped].	Usual type; mint-signature no. 12 = <u>BISH</u> ; date <u>سنه</u> = NVAJHL.  <b>Pl. IV. 9.</b>
<i>Year 50</i>				
31	58.7 3.80	AR 1.3	As above, but countermark no. 11 in second quarter obliterating the end of الله سبـ and most of the pellet r. of ☰ [traces of double-striking].	As above; date written thus: <u>سنه</u>  <b>Pl. IV. 10.</b>
32	58.8 3.81	AR 1.3	As above, but no pellet r. and l. of crescent; countermarks no. 14 over ☰ and no. 3 in fourth quarter.	As no. 30.
33	50.6 3.28	AR 1.15	Usual type; margin بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	Usual type; mint-signature no. 12 = <u>BISH</u> ; date <u>سنه</u> = PNJAH.  <b>Pl. III. 5.</b>
34	56.8 3.68	AR 1.3	As above; countermark no. 3 in fourth quarter.	As above [corroded at top].

29. Major Hay 1860.

30. G. Smith and H. Rassam (from Nineveh excavations) presented 1878.

31. R. B. Whitehead 1922.

32. East India Company 1845.

33. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 85, the date of which is wrongly read as 35. See Zam. I, p. 13 above.

34. India Office Collection presented 1882.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 17			<p>Year 51</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Bishāpūr</p> <p>As Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 86, no. 21) is the sole authority for this mint and date, and the coin has never been illustrated, it is impossible to be certain of the accuracy of this attribution. The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Apparently the obverse margin was <i>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم</i>. It is of interest to note that on the reverse margin there was a small triangle of dots in the fourth quarter. The only other case of this I have come across is on the coin of Sir Richard Burn's which I have attributed above (RB. 4, Pl. XXXI. 1) to the year 48. It is just conceivable that both coins are of the same year.</p>	
M. 18			<p>Year 53?</p> <p>Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1880, p. 160, no. 561) records a coin in his own collection, which he ascribes to this year, with the mint-signature no. 43 = NH. The coin bears no legend in Arabic that would indicate that it was struck by an Arab Governor. The only reason why Mordtmann considers that it belongs to the Arab-Sassanian group is the fact that the year 53 exceeds the known regnal years of <i>Khusrau II</i> (38). Mordtmann's transcription of the date legend is <i>هـ ٥٣</i>. It is more than likely that this is a mistake for <i>هـ ٣٧</i> = HFTS(H) = 37. I have no hesitation in excluding it from the present series.</p>	
<i>With Uncertain Date</i>				
Th. 3	61.6 3.99	AR 1.2	<p>Year 61? (A.H.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Sīstān</p> <p>As Th. 2 above, p. 18, but margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">الله وربى عور *</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بسم الله وربى</p> <p>pellet l. of wings in fourth quarter.</p>	<p>As Th. 2 above, p. 18, but date</p> <p style="text-align: center;">سیستانی = AYUKISHST(?) ; small star l. and small crescent r. of flames.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXI. 2.</p>

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
I. 11		AR	As above; no pellet in margin top l.	As above, but margin * ضرب بالشرق * (i.e. minted in the East).
Ox. 1	55.1 3.57	AR 1.2	Year 63? (A.H.) Usual Sassanian type; crescent over l. shoulder; name-legend in thick script; margin بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [pierced at top].	Sīstān Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; no star nor crescent l. or r. of flames; mint-signature no. 52 = SK; date الله تلتسهست = TLTSHST (?). Pl. XXXI. 3.
(b) With mint and date in Arabic				
N. 1		AR	Year 73 (A.H.) Usual type, but margin بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله وَحْدَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللهِ	Damascus (دمشق) Usual type, but mint in Kufic script دمسيخ, i.e. Dimishk (= Damascus) and date (sic) ثُلث وسعيْن; margin .*
DD. 1	48.7 3.16	AR 1.25	Year 74 (A.H.) As above, but marginal legend differently divided: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله وَحْدَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللهِ	As above, but date (sic) اربع وسعيْن; pellet r. of altar pedestal; no trace of additional pellets in margin. Pl. XXXI. 4.

I. 11. Istanbul Museum.

Ox. 1. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

N. 1. Königsberg (Nesselmann, *Die orientalischen Münzen, &c.*, p. 12).

DD. 1. D. D. Dickson Collection, London.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ANS. 5	51.5 3.34	AR 1.2	<p style="text-align: center;">(c) <i>Without mint or date</i></p> <p>New type of Sassanian bust; crown without wings; front of breast interlaced; above crown a circle and pellet instead of star and crescent; name-legend of <u>Khusrau II</u> r. downwards as usual; margin in Arabic  <b>بسم الله لا إله إلا الله</b>  <b>وَحْدَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللهِ</b></p>	<p>New type of reverse; within triple circle in place of usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants there is an arch surmounting two pillars no doubt representing a mihrāb or Muhammadan prayer-niche; in the centre of the arch rises a lance with two streamers falling to l.; pellet l. and r. of lance point and l. and r. of notched end; at bottom row of small pellets; legends in Kufic script downwards;  <b>امير المؤمنين</b> (i.e. Commander of the Faithful) l. of arch;  <b>خلفت</b> (sic for <b>خلفة الله</b>) (i.e. Vice-gerent of Allah) r. of arch;  <b>نصر</b> l. and r. of spear (i.e. May Allah help!); margin: Pehlevi letters <b>AF</b> = AF in first quarter; pellet l. and r. of each <b>*</b>; fourth outer circle.</p>
I. 12		AR 1.1	<p style="text-align: center;">(iii) <i>With the name of Hormuzd IV</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust as on prototype γ, above (p. 2), but marginal legend in Arabic (partly destroyed at the beginning)</p> <p>[<b>لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ وَحْدَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ</b>  <b>رَسُولُ اللهِ</b>]  <small>[first and second quarters completely lost].</small></p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as on prototype γ, above (p. 2).</p>

Pl. XXXI. 5.

Pl. XXX. 1.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
<b>B. Without the name of the Sassanian king <u>Khusrau II Type</u> With Arab-Byzantine Reverse</b>				
Zub. 1 (Fig. 2)	54.8 3.55	AR 1.3	<p>Year 75 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust of Khusrau II as on no. β, but in place of Pehlevi legends l. and r. of bust in Kufic script</p> <p>ضرب فی سنة خمس و سبعين (sic) (i.e. minted in the year 75); margin</p> <p>بسم الله لا اله الا الله وَحْدَهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللهِ</p> <p>[edge cut bottom l.]</p>	<p>New type of reverse; with in triple circle in place of the usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants there is the standing figure of the Caliph, bearded and wearing Arab head-dress, with his r. hand resting on his sword-hilt; in field Kufic legend l. downwards (i.e. Commander of the Faithful) and r. downwards (sic) (i.e. Vice-gerent of Allah); star and crescent in each of the four segments.</p>
<b>C. With the name of the Umayyad Caliph</b>				
35	51.8 3.36	AR 1.15	<p>(a) Mu'āwiya (معاویہ)</p> <p>Caliph A.H. 41-60 = A.D. 662-80</p> <p>Dārābjird</p> <p>Year 41</p> <p>Usual bust of Sassanian type; the small star and</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and two attendants; small</p>

Zub. 1. Zubow Collection (now in the Historical Museum, Moscow).

35. J. E. Taylor (Consul at Diarbekr) presented 1865.



FIG. 2

Mintless

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<p>crescent r. of crown has become a small star only; the crescent and the fillet above the r. shoulder have dropped out; in place of the name of the Sassanian monarch appear the name and title of the Muhammadan Caliph of Damascus written in Pehlevi</p> <p>MAAWIA AMIR I-WRUISHNIKAN (i.e. Mu'awiya Commander of the Faithful); margin بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (*)</p> <p>[the edge is so rubbed that the pellets alongside the star and crescent are practically obliterated, but see Th. 4 below; the coin is pierced in second quarter practically obliterating the triangle of pellets to r. of star and crescent bottom r.]</p>	<p>star r. and small crescent l. of flames; mint-signature downward r. no. 18 = DAR; date downwards l. دار = YAJHL; margin دار and دار.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. V. 1.</p>
36	29.3 1.90	AR 1.0	As above, but first line of name-legend دار [coin badly rubbed and clipped; pierced in second quarter].	As above, but small crescent to r. and star to l. of flames; margin دار (which may be a worn دار).
Th. 4	60.8 3.94	AR 1.25	As no. 35; in margin pellet in front of each star and crescent clearly discernible except at bottom.	As no. 35, but margin دار
B. 3	62.8 4.07	AR 1.15	As no. 35; marginal pellets clearly discernible.	As no. 35, but mint-signature no. 17 = DA; no additional symbols or letters in the margin.
				Pl. XXXI. 6.

Th. 4. Philip Thorburn Collection, London (ex Davis Collection).

B. 3. Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 94, Pl. II, where the date is read as 43).

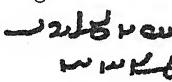
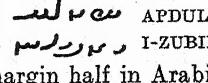
No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ANS. 6		AR 1.2	As above.	As above.  Pl. V. 3.
			(b) 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān عبد الملك بن مروان	Caliph A.H. 65-86 = A.D. 684-705 Ardashīr-Khurra
			Year 70. See note at end to 37 below.	
37	44.7 2.88	AR 1.15	<p>Year 73 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust, but narrower shape; breast-ornament ♀; the Caliph's name and title in Pehlevi</p> <p>APDMLIK AMIR I-WRUISHNIKAN</p> <p>(i.e. 'Abd al-Malik, Commander of the Faithful); margin, half in Arabic and half in Pehlevi</p> <p>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [...] [.]</p> <p>[fourth quarter broken off].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and two attendants; mint-signature no. 9 (with one pellet in front and two behind) = ART; date ارض سلطنت = SIHTAT.</p> <p>Pl. V. 4.</p>
V. 1			Bishāpūr (?) Year 71 (A.H.)?	The sole authority for this year and mint is Valentine (p. 89) who has no doubt misread the legends. Unfortunately he does not give any illustration of the coin or the source of his information. The name-legends in Pehlevi was apparently as on Cam. I below, p. 29.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Dārābjird Year 60=A.H. 72	
C. 3	61.1 3.96	AR 1.15	As no. 37 above, but bust less elongated; no Pehlevi legend in third quarter; breast-ornament ••; no crescent over l. shoulder; margin as on no. 35 above.	As no. 37 above; small star r. and crescent l. of flames; between pedestal of fire-altar and the attendant on the l. the Pehlevi letter=p; mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date "祆" = SHST:; margin ••. <b>Pl. XXXI. 7.</b>
Asc. 1		AR 1.2	As above [holed in fourth quarter].	As no. 37 above, but mint-signature no. 21 = DARAV; date <i>DARAV</i> (sic).
P. 2	61.8 4.00	AR 1.25	Year 65=A.H. 77 As C. 3 above.	As C. 3 above, but date PNJSHST:; l. of altar pedestal the Pehlevi letter is clearer and has a pellet on l.; margin has two pellets instead of one l. of star and crescent at top. <b>Pl. XXXI. 8.</b>
I. 13			Year 66 The coin ascribed to 'Abd al-Malik of this mint and date in the Istanbul Museum ( <i>Catalogue</i> , no. 17) is actually of the year 60 and bears the name of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair as Amir (see no. 47 below, p. 35).	
C. 4			Year 72 The coin ascribed to this mint and date in the Copenhagen Catalogue ( <i>Ostrup</i> , no. 67) ought really to be read as 60 (see above, C. 3).	

C. 3. Copenhagen Museum (*Ostrup*, no. 67, where the date on the coin is wrongly given as 72).

Asc. 1. G. I. Ascoli (*Dodici Monete . . . del R. Museo di Napoli*, p. 72, Pl. I and II, no. 11).

P. 2. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Lavoix*, no. 147).

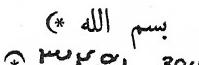
No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Cam. 1	59.0 3.82	R 1.3	<p style="text-align: center;">Merv Year 75 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; name-legend</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">APDULMLIK-I MRWANAN</p> <p>(i.e. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān); margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ</p> <p>countermark no. 14 in first quarter.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 41 = MRW; date ٧٥ = PNJHFTAT.</p>
M. 19				Pl. XXXI. 9.
I. 14		R	<p>D. With the name of a Provincial Governor</p> <p>(i) 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(عبد الله بن الزبير)</p> <p>Rival Caliph A.H. 61-73 = A.D. 680/1-692</p> <p>Type (a) With name only</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(عبد الله بن الزبير)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Ardashīr-Khurra</p> <p>Year 65 (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for a coin of this year and mint-signature (no. 9) is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 88, no. 23) but it is not illustrated. It was in his own cabinet. Apparently the marginal legend was بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ. Mordtmann wrongly read the mint-signature as UT.</p> <p>Year 66 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; name-legend</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">APDULA I-ZUBIRAN</p> <p>margin half in Arabic and half in Pehlevi</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 9 = ART; date ٦٦ = SHSHST; pellet l. and r. of mint-signature.</p>

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
B. 4		AR 1	<p>Year 67 (A.H.)</p> <p>As above, but last line of name-legends complete at end [clipped].</p>	<p>As above, but date <b>كُلُّ شَهْرٍ</b> = HFTSHST.</p>
38	59.8 3.87	AR 1.3	<p>Kirmān</p> <p>Year 62 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust, but crude workmanship; usual small crescent above l. shoulder; name-legends</p> <p><b>سَعِدُ</b> APDULA  <b>زَبِيل</b> I-ZUB(I)RAN  with fillet at end of second line; margin in Pehlevi and Arabic</p> <p><b>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ *</b></p> <p>(legend coalescing at end with star and crescent); countermarks no. 32 in first quarter, and nos. 29 and 25 in margin l. obliterating *)</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; small star r. and small crescent l. of flames respectively; mint-signature no. 36 = KRMAN NAN . . ?; date <b>كُلُّ شَهْرٍ</b> = DUSHST: [star and crescent obliterated top and bottom].</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. V. 6.</p>
Z. 1	58 3.75	AR 1.2	<p>As above, but name-legends correctly written</p> <p>APDULA   I-ZUPIRAN  no fillet at end of second line; margin in Pehlevi and Arabic</p> <p><b>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ *</b></p> <p>the end of the Pehlevi legend is obliterated by countermark no. 48 (?).</p>	<p>As above.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXI. 10.</p>

B. 4. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 152, but the mint-signature was not properly interpreted).

38. India Office Collection presented 1882.

Z. 1. Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
39	50.3 3.26	AR 1.2	Year 63 (A.H.) As above; margin in Pehlevi and Arabic  countermark no. 43 in fourth quarter.	As above, but small star l. and small crescent r. of flames; mint-signature no. 35 = KRMANHP.(?); date  = SSHST. Pl. V. 7.
B. 5	61.1 3.96	AR 1.25	As above; in the marginal legend  is missing; countermark no. 48 in first quarter; countermark no. 14 in second quarter over beginning of the Pehlevi legend.	As above, but mint-signature no. 30? = KRMAN...(?).
B. 6	60.5 3.92	AR 1.25	Year 66 (A.H.) As B. 5 above; margin  only; countermarks no. 14 r. and no. 42 l.	As B. 5 above; mint-signature no. 28 a = KRMAN:; date  = SHSHST.
J. 1	49.4 3.20	AR	Year 67 (A.H.) As no. 38 above, but second line of name-legend as on Z. 1 above; margin  [holed at bottom; part of left margin broken off].	As no. 39 above; mint-signature no. 30 a = KRMAN .. (?); date  = HFTSHST.
I. 15		AR	As above, but without star l. of  in margin.	As above; mint-signature no. 32 = KRMAN . . (?).

39. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 296, no. 23, Pl. II. fig. XIV = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 160, no. 806).

B. 5. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (*Nützel*, no. 150, Pl. II).

B. 6. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (*Nützel*, no. 151, where, however, the date is wrongly read as SSHST = 63 (A.H.)).

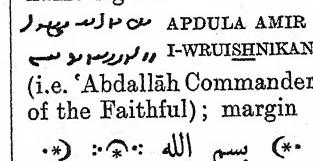
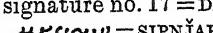
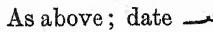
J. 1. Jena University Collection (Stickel, *Handbuch*, ii, p. 91, no. 49, Pl.).

I. 15. Istanbul Museum.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
40	61.9 4.01	AR 1.2	<p>Year 68 (A.H.)</p> <p>As no. 39 above, but breast-ornament * and margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* * * * *</p> <p>no countermarks.</p>	<p>As no. 39 above, but mint-signature no. 34 = KRMANNHR (?); date ٦٨٣٩ = HSHTSHST:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. V. 8.</p>
41	58.8 3.81	AR 1.25	<p>Year 69 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust, but small crescent above l. shoulder has become reduced to a pellet; name-legends as on Z. 1 above</p> <p style="text-align: center;">APDULA I-ZUPIRAN;</p> <p>margin in Pehlevi and Arabic</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* * * * *</p> <p>the beginning of this is obliterated by countermark no. 14; in first quarter countermark no. 52 and in fourth quarter countermark no. 29.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants, much reduced in scale; small crescent missing from l. of flames; mint-signature no. 29 = KMAN . . . ; date ٦٩٣٩ = NAVSHST:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. V. 5.</p>
Th. 5	64.0 4.15	AR 1.2	As above, but small crescent over l. shoulder as usual.	<p>As above; mint-signature no. 28 a = KRMAN:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXII. 1.</p>
M. 20			<p>Zaranj</p> <p>Year 69 (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and year is Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1879, p. 88, no. 25). The coin was in his own cabinet. Apparently the margin was</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* * * * *</p>	

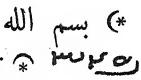
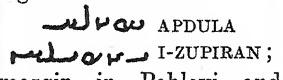
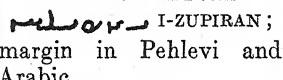
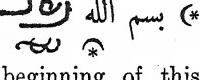
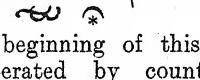
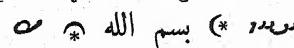
40. M. Paul Tinchant presented 1936.

Th. 5. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Type (b) With name and title</i>				
عبد الله امير المؤمنين)				
Bishāpūr ?				
Do. 1			Year 53?	
			Dorn ( <i>Mélanges Asiatiques</i> , II, p. 609, no. 5 = <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , no. 108) mentions a coin of 'Abdallāh of this mint probably dated 53. Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1858, p. 52, no. 302) includes this in his list under the mint of <i>Basa</i> , an old reading of this mint-signature. It is highly improbable that such a coin ever was struck. On the other hand coins of this mint and date with the name of 'Abdallāh's renowned opponent Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān are extremely common (see below nos. 51-4).	
Dārābjird				
Year 53=A.H. 65				
ANS. 7		AR 1.15	Usual Sassanian bust r.; crescent and fillet over l. shoulder missing; r. of crown small crescent instead of star and crescent; name legend  APDULA AMIR I-WRUISHNIKAN (i.e. 'Abdallāh Commander of the Faithful); margin • * : ? : * .	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date  SIPNJA. Pl. V. 9.
ANS. 8		AR 1.15	As above; fillet also missing on r. shoulder; the  in the margin is clumsily engraved.	As above; margin • . but date SIPNJA. Pl. V. 10.
Year 54=A.H. 66				
42	63.1 4.09	AR 1.2	As above; small star and crescent r. of crown; breast-ornament ♦ ; fillet on r. shoulder.	As above; date  JHPNJA (sic); l. of altar ♫; margin *. Pl. VI. 1.

ANS. 7, 8. American Numismatic Society, New York.

42. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
40	61.9 4.01	R 1.2	<p>Year 68 (A.H.)</p> <p>As no. 39 above, but breast-ornament * and margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">           no countermarks.       </p>	<p>As no. 39 above, but mint-signature no. 34 = KRMANNHR (?); date ١٢٣٤ هـ = HSHTSHST:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. V. 8.</p>
41	58.8 3.81	R 1.25	<p>Year 69 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust, but small crescent above l. shoulder has become reduced to a pellet; name-legends as on Z. 1 above</p> <p style="text-align: center;">             margin in Pehlevi and Arabic       </p> <p style="text-align: center;">    </p> <p>the beginning of this is obliterated by countermark no. 14; in first quarter countermark no. 52 and in fourth quarter countermark no. 29.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants, much reduced in scale; small crescent missing from l. of flames; mint-signature no. 29 = KMAN . . . ; date ١٢٣٥ هـ = NAVSHST:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. V. 5.</p>
Th. 5	64.0 4.15	R 1.2	<p>As above, but small crescent over l. shoulder as usual.</p>	<p>As above; mint-signature no. 28 a = KRMAN:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXII. 1.</p>
M. 20			<p>Zaranj</p> <p>Year 69 (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and year is Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1879, p. 88, no. 25). The coin was in his own cabinet. Apparently the margin was</p> <p style="text-align: center;">  </p>	

40. M. Paul Tinchant presented 1936.

Th. 5. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<i>Type (b) With name and title</i> <b>(عبد الله امير المؤمنين)</b> Bishāpūr? Year 53?	
Do. 1			Dorn ( <i>Mélanges Asiatiques</i> , II, p. 609, no. 5 = <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , no. 108) mentions a coin of 'Abdallāh of this mint probably dated 53. Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1858, p. 52, no. 302) includes this in his list under the mint of <i>Basa</i> , an old reading of this mint-signature. It is highly improbable that such a coin ever was struck. On the other hand coins of this mint and date with the name of 'Abdallāh's renowned opponent Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān are extremely common (see below nos. 51-4).	
ANS. 7		AR 1.15	Dārābjird Year 53=A.H. 65	Usual Sassanian bust r.; crescent and fillet over l. shoulder missing; r. of crown small crescent instead of star and crescent; name legend <b>APDULA AMIR I-WRUISHNIKAN</b> (i.e. 'Abdallāh Commander of the Faithful); margin • * ♀ * بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
ANS. 8		AR 1.15	As above; fillet also missing on r. shoulder; the <b>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم</b> in the margin is clumsily engraved.	Pl. V. 9. As above; margin ♀ (* but date SIPNJA.
42	63.1 4.09	AR 1.2	Year 54=A.H. 66	As above; date <b>سنه 54</b> = JHPNJA (sic); l. of altar ♀; margin ♀
				Pl. VI. 1.

ANS. 7, 8. American Numismatic Society, New York.

42. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
43	57.3 3.71	R 1.15	As above, but clearer.	As above; mint-signature no. 20 = DAP; date <del>وَلِيُّ</del> = JHRPNJA; margin <del>كَلْمَة</del> ; no additional mark l. of altar. Pl. VI. 2.
H. 1		R 1.25	As no. 42 above.	As no. 42 above, but mint-signature and margin as on no. 43; no additional mark l. of altar. Pl. XXXII. 2.
Z. 2	60.5 3.92	R 1.25	Year 56 = A.H. (68) As no. 42 above; small star and crescent r. of crown omitted; no fillet on r. shoulder.	As no. 42 above, but date <del>وَلِيُّ</del> = SHPNJAH ( <i>sic</i> ); small star l. and small crescent r. of flames; no pellets in margin. Pl. XXXII. 3.
44	57.9 3.75	R 1.15	As no. 43 above, but not so clear; no fillet on r. shoulder; in margin ( <i>sic</i> ) <del>كَلْمَة</del> ; traces of double striking.	As no. 43 above, but date <del>وَلِيُّ</del> = SHSHPNJA. Pl. VI. 3.
45	58.4 3.74	R 1.15	Year 57 = A.H. 69 As above, but small star l. and small star and crescent r. of crown omitted; breast-ornament ..; margin as on no. 43, but pellet below first letter of <del>كَلْمَة</del> .	As above, but mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date <del>وَلِيُّ</del> = HFPNJAH ( <i>sic</i> ); in margin pellet above (*). Pl. VI. 4.

43. J. R. Steuart Collection 1842.

H. 1. Prof. Ernst Herzfeld Collection (now dispersed). *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 433.

Z. 2. Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester.

45. M. Rollin 1852 = Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1852, p. 37, no. II a).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
46	54.4 3.53	AR 1.2	As above, but clearer; Pehlevi legend AFZUT l. of head damaged by double-striking; breast-ornament and margin as on no. 43; fillet on r. shoulder.  <i>Year 60=A.H. 72</i>	As above.  <b>Pl. VI. 5.</b>
Th. 6	57.1 3.70	AR 1.1	As no. 45 above, but small star r. and l. of crown; margin as no 43.	As no. 45 above, but date <del>م</del> <sup>ه</sup> =SHST; in field l. of altar the Pehlevi letter <del>د</del> =P; in margin <del>ه</del> l. of <del>ه</del> replaced by a pellet; no other pellet in the margin.  <b>Pl. VI. 6.</b>
47	55.4 3.59	AR 1.1	As Th. 6 above [holed at top].	As Th. 6 above; no pellet in margin nor Pehlevi letter l. of altar; mint-signature no. 21=DARAV.  <b>Pl. XXXII. 4.</b>
P. 3			<i>Year 62</i>  The coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 144) of this mint has been wrongly dated by Lavoix as A.H. 62. It is really similar to Th. 6 above, the mistake being due to the fillet on the r. shoulder of the attendant on the l. of the fire-altar having been read as the Pehlevi numeral for 2 (DU).	<b>Kirmān</b>  <i>Year 67 (A.H.)</i>
48	61.7 4.00	AR 1.2	Usual Sassanian bust; no star and crescent r. of crown; no crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends as above; margin  * بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; small star l. and small crescent r. of flames; mint-signature no. 30=KRMAN . . . ; date <del>ه</del> <sup>ه</sup> =HFTSHST.  <b>Pl. VI. 7.</b>

46. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

Th. 6. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

48. M. Paul Tinchant presented 1936.

47. Anon. presented 1939.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
49	59.4 3.85	AR 1.3	Year 63 or 66 (A.H.) As above, but small star and crescent r. of crown; small crescent over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ♀; margin * : بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ —	Iṣṭakhr As above, but mint-signature no. 53 b=ST with pellet l.; date = SISHEST; or SHSHST; margin *
RB. 5	61.6 3.99	AR 1.25	As above.	Pl. VI. 8. As above, but no pellets in margin.
RB. 6	61.1 3.96	AR 1.3	Year 66 (A.H.) As no. 49 above.	Pl. XXXII. 5. As no. 49 above, but date ۶۶ = SHSHST: Pl. XXXII. 6.
50	43.6 2.86	AR 1.15	(ii) Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān (زِيَادُ بْنُ أَبِي سُفْيَانَ) Abrashahr Year 54 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no fillet on l. shoulder; breast-ornament ♀; l. of crown pellet in place of small star and r. ♀ in place of small star and crescent; name-legends	ZIYAT ABUSUFAN ( <i>sic</i> ); margin بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ [slightly clipped]. Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 2=APRSH; date ۵۴ = JHRPNJA; margin *
				Pl. VIII. 1.

49. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

R.B. 5, 6. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 21			<p style="text-align: right;">Bishāpūr</p> <p>Year 25?</p> <p>The sole authority that I can find for this mint and date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 90, no. 33). The coin was in his own cabinet. The fact that the marginal legend was <small>الله ربِّنَا</small> almost certainly points to a much later date. Unfortunately the coin was never reproduced. On the face of it it appears to me a most unlikely date. In order to fit it into the chronological scheme, in fact, Mordtmann (p. 92) has to equate it in terms of the so-called Tabaristān Era, i.e. the Post-Yezdigird Era.</p>	
M. 22			<p>Year 47? (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1858, p. 50, no. 293). The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection, and had the marginal legend <small>الله ربِّنَا</small> only. Mordtmann read the mint-signature as BASA.</p>	
Z. 3	50.9 3.30	AR 1.2	<p>Year 50 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent over l. shoulder; breast-ornament.; name-legend</p> <p><small>ربُّنَا ZIYAT</small> <small>بَشِّيْر ابْنُ سُوْفَانَ I-ABUSUFAN (sic)</small> margin <small>الله ربِّنَا</small></p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and two attendants; mint-signature no. 12 c = BISH; date <small>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</small> = PNJAH.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VI. 9.</p>
B. 7	42.3 2.74	AR 1.05	<p>Year 51 (A.H.)</p> <p>As above [defaced and pierced].</p>	<p>As above, but mint-signature no. 12 a (?) and date <small>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</small> = AYUKPNJA.</p>
ETN. 6		AR 1.15	<p>As above, but margin <small>الله ربِّنَا</small></p>	<p>As above, but date <small>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</small> = AYUPNJA (sic).</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VI. 10.</p>

Z. 3. Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester.

B. 7. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 96).

ETN. 6. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ANS. 9		AR 1.3	Year 52 (A.H.)  As no. Z. 3 above; countermarks nos. 11 and 8 in first and fourth quarters respectively [notched at top r.]	As no. Z. 3 above, but date <del>۵۲</del> = DUPNJA [margin lumpy].  Pl. VII. 1.
51	60.4 3.91	AR 1.3	Year 53 (A.H.)  As above; legends slightly double-struck; countermark no. 4 in fourth quarter.	As above, but date <del>۵۳</del> = SPNJA.  Pl. VII. 2.
52	51.9 3.36	AR 1.2	As above, but no fillet on l. shoulder, and name-legends is written thus:  <del>سُلَيْمَان</del> ZIYAT I- <del>أَبُو سُلَيْمَان</del> ABUSUFAN ( <i>sic</i> ); no countermarks.	As above.  Pl. VII. 3.
53	48.7 3.16	AR 1.15	As above, but fillet on l. shoulder displacing the Pehlevi letter — [cut at bottom].	As above.
RB. 7	61.9 4.01	AR 1.25	As above, but both fillet over l. shoulder and the Pehlevi letter — omitted.	As above.  Pl. XXXII. 7.
54	54.2 3.51	AR 1.2	As above, but countermark no. 3 in first and fourth quarters, the former partly obliterating the ⠼	As above, but mint-signature no. 12c [margin scored in third quarter].  Pl. XXXII. 8.

ANS. 9. American Numismatic Society, New York.

51. India Office Collection presented 1882.

52, 53. M. Eustache de Lorey presented 1923.

RB. 7. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.

54. Sir Richard Burn presented 1938.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Year 54 (A.H.)	
55	57.5 3.73	R 1.25	As no. RB. 7 above; countermark no. 11 in first quarter.	As no. RB. 7 above, but date <del>one score</del> = JHRPNJA [third quarter scored]. <b>Pl. VII. 4.</b>
B. 8		R 1.1	As no. 52 above [but damaged top 1.]	As above. <b>Pl. XXXII. 9.</b>
56	46.3 3.00	R 1.15	As no. 48 above [edge clipped at bottom].	As above, but date truncated to JHRPNJ (sic).
T. 6			Year 56 (A.H.)	Thomas asserts ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1852, p. 408) that he saw a coin of this mint and date in the Colonel Rawlinson Collection. Unfortunately he does not illustrate it so that the date cannot be verified. Another coin said to be of the same mint and date is mentioned, also without illustration, in the Johnston Sale ( <i>Sotheby</i> , 16 July, 1906, lot 130).
M. 23			Basra Year 51 (A.H.)	Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1854, p. 152, no. 764) attributes a coin in the Colonel Rawlinson Collection to this mint and year and states that it is apparently the same coin as that described by Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1850, p. 287, no. 1). If this is so, then Mordtmann's reading of the mint-signature was wrong, since Thomas's coin was of the mint of Bishāpūr. See note to ETN. 6 at end of the text. The coin (no. 57) described below, however, may be of this year.

55. J. R. Steuart Collection 1846.

B. 8. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 95).

56. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
57	19.2 1.24	AR 1.1	<p>Year 51 or 53 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no fillet over l. shoulder; name-legend as on no. Z. 3 above; margin partly cut off at beginning</p> <p style="text-align: center;">الله رب العالمين</p> <p>[the coin is badly cut at top and r., but the essential details are discernible].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 13 = BJRĀ; date <b>سِرْجَنْ</b> = AYPNJA (51) or SIPNJA (53); pellet r. of mint.</p>
Cam. 2		AR .9	<p>Year 55 (A.H.)</p> <p>As above, but hair at back of head has become conventionalized as three concentric circles; small circle l. and r. of crown and on each shoulder; name-legend arranged thus: ZIYAT-I/ABUSUFAN; margin cut off, but traces of the above marginal legend visible.</p>	<p>As above, but date <b>سِرْجَنْ</b> = PNJPNA; no pellet r. of mint; r. of flames a pellet, l. a small circle.</p>
58	54.4 3.53	AR 1.25	<p>Dārābjird</p> <p>Year 41 = A.H. 52/53</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; name-legend</p> <p style="text-align: center;">سِرْجَنْ ZIYAT-I سِرْجَنْ ABUSFIYAN</p> <p>small crescent over l. shoulder; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">الله رب العالمين</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date <b>سِرْجَنْ</b> = YAJHL.</p>

57. G. Smith and H. Rassam (from Nineveh excavations) presented 1878.

Cam. 2. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

58. Anon. presented 1935.

Pl. VII. 6.

Pl. VII. 5.

Pl. XXXII. 10.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
59	34.2 2.22	AR 1	As above, but name-legend partly obliterated by square countermark no. 11; the ear-ring is ♀; and pellet at end of name-legend [margin almost completely cut off in order to reduce the coin to the size of the hemidrachms of Tabaristān].	As above.  Pl. VII. 7.
60	62.5 4.05	AR 1.2	As no. 58 above, but earring as on no. 59 above; over l. shoulder ♂; marginal legend written defectively thus:  الله يعز	As above, but apparently a pellet or defect in the die below ♂  Pl. XXXII. 11.
ANS. 10		AR 1.3	As no. 58 above, but pellet at end of name-legend as on no. 59 above.	As no. 58 above.  Pl. XXXII. 12.
B. 9	57.1 3.70	AR 1.15	As no. 58.	As no. 58, but pellet in middle of date, and ♂ in margin.
61	54.2 3.51	AR 1.2	Year 43=A.H. 55 As no. 58 above, but earring as on no. 59 above.	As no. 58 above, but mint-signature no. 19=DR with pellet above; date جوسي =SIJHL; margin ♂  Pl. VII. 8.

59. India Office Collection presented 1882.

60. Spink 1938.

ANS. 10. American Numismatic Society, New York.

B. 9. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 97, Pl. II).

61. India Office Collection presented 1882.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ETN. 7		AR 1.2	<p style="text-align: center;">Dasht-i-Maisān?</p> <p>Year 52 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; name-legend ZIYAT/I-ABUSUFAN (<i>sic</i>); fillet at end of ZIYAT; margin <math>\text{بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ}</math> (<i>sic</i>).</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 23 = DSHT (?); date <math>\text{۷۲۱} = \text{DUPNJA}</math>; margin <math>\text{۷۲۱}</math>.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXII. 13.</p>
I. 16		AR		<p style="text-align: center;">Nihāvand</p> <p>Year 51 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust.</p>
62	44.8 2.98	AR 1.1	<p>Year 52 (A.H.)</p> <p>As no. 51 above; no countermark [edge clipped].</p>	<p>Usual fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 43 b = NH; date <math>\text{۷۲۰} = \text{AYUPNJA}</math> (<i>sic</i>).</p>
C. 5	54.3 3.52	AR 1	<p>Year 53 (A.H.)</p> <p>As no. 55 above [margin cut off].</p>	<p>As no. 51 above, but date <math>\text{۷۲۱} = \text{DUPNJA}</math>, and mint-signature as above.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VII. 9.</p>
O. 1		AR 1.15	<p>Year uncertain</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; name-legend ZIYAT/I-ABUSUFAN with additional stroke after ZIYAT; margin <math>\text{بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ}</math> [edge clipped].</p>	<p>Usual fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 45 = NIH; date <math>\text{۷۲۱} = \text{SIH}</math> (?) (30) or = SHSH (6) for 46 (?).</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XL. 1.</p>

ETN. 7. E. T. Newell Collection, New York. Cf. coin no. 66 below.

I. 16. Istanbul Museum.

62. M. Eustache de Lorey presented 1923.

C. 5. Copenhagen Museum (*Østrup*, no. 63).

O. 1. Osman Arıdağ Collection, Istanbul.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Nahr-Tirā Year 52 (A.H.)	
63	59.5 3.86	AR 1.3	As no. 62 above, but name-legends as on no. 50 above; small pellet above l. shoulder; additional sign below <del>بـ</del> in margin; countermark no. 1 in fourth quarter.	As no. 62 above, but mint-signature no. 44 <del>a</del> =NHR.  Pl. VII. 10.
64	38 2.51	AR 1	As above, but without countermark; no pellet over l. shoulder; name-legends as on no. 51 above [margin almost completely clipped away].	As above, but mint-signature no. 44.
I. 17		AR	Year 53 (A.H.) As above.	As above, but date <del>سـ</del> =SPNJAH (sic).
STA. 1		AR	Year uncertain Usual type.	Usual type; mint-signature no. 48=RD; date <del>سـ</del> = <u>SHSH</u> (?) i.e. 6 for (4)6 (?).
O. 2		AR 1.2	As O. 1 above.	As O. 1 above, but mint-signature as above; date <del>سـ</del> =SI (30) or <u>SH</u> (SH) for (4)6.  Pl. XL. 2.

63. Col. A. Ward presented 1934.

64. Count de Salis (ex Ismail Pasha's Collection) presented 1862.

I. 17. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

STA. 1. Convent of St. Anne, Jerusalem.

O. 2. Osman Aridağ Collection, Istanbul.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
I. 18		AR	<p><i>Year 52 (A.H.)</i> Usual type, but no marginal legend at all.</p>	<p>Usual type; date = DUFJA (sic).</p>
I. 19		AR	<p><i>Year uncertain</i> Usual type.</p>	<p>Date <del>51</del> (?) = AYUPN(?) for AYUPNJA(?) i.e. 51 (A.H.).</p>
I. 20		AR	<p><i>Year 51 (A.H.)</i> Usual type.</p>	<p>Usual type; mint-signature no. 53 = ST; date <del>51</del> (?) = AYUPNJA (sic).</p>
ETN. 8	1.25	AR	<p><i>Year 54 (A.H.)</i> As no. 63 above; pellet more distinct over l. shoulder; no countermark; fillet over l. shoulder missing, its place being taken by the Pehlevi letter <math>\rightarrow</math> as on no. 52 above.</p>	<p>As above, but date <del>51</del> (?) = JHRPNJA; pellet after mint-signature.</p>
M. 24			<p><i>Year 56</i> The coin ascribed by Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1865, p. 471, no. 157) to this mint and year is almost certainly from his transcription (<del>51</del>) a variant of the date 51 above. The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection.</p>	Pl. VII. 13.
Dam. 1	1.2	AR	<p><i>Year 11 (!)</i> Usual type; name-legends ZIYAT   I-ABUSUFAN margin as on O. 1 above.</p>	<p>al-Shirajān? Usual type; but mint-signature no. 49 = SHI(?) ; date <del>51</del> (?) = YAJDH.</p>

I. 18, 19. Istanbul Museum.

ETN. 8. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

Dam. 1. Arab Museum, Damascus.

I. 20. Istanbul Museum (Catalogue no. 7).

Pl. XXXIII. 2.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
65	40.7 2.64	AR 1.1	<p style="text-align: center;">Year 51 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; name-legend</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ZIYAT I-ABUSUFAN.</p> <p>margin <math>\text{بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ}</math> (cf. ETN. 6 above) [clipped].</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Zaranj</p> <p>Usual fire-altar and attendants, but mint-signature no. 57 = ZR and date</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><math>\text{أَيُونْجَا}</math> = AYUPNJA.</p>
I. 21		AR	<p style="text-align: center;">Year 52 (A.H.)</p> <p>As above.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">As above, but date <math>\text{دُوْلَنْجَا}</math> = DUPNJA.</p>
Do. 2			<p style="text-align: center;">Year 53 (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and date is Dorn (<i>Mélanges</i>, III, p. 628). See also Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1865, p. 466, no. 156).</p>	
ETN. 9		AR 1.15	<p style="text-align: center;">Hamadhān</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Year 52 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual bust; name-legend as on no. 65 above; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><math>\text{بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ}</math></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Usual fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 4 = AHM, date <math>\text{دُولَنْجَا}</math> (sic) = DUPNJA.</p>
66	60.9 3.95	AR 1.25	<p style="text-align: center;">Uncertain Mint</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Year 52 (A.H.)</p> <p>As above.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">As above, but mint-signature no. 38 = KVAT(?) [i.e. KOBĀDH(?)].</p>

65. G. Smith and H. Rassam (from Nineveh excavations) presented 1878.

I. 21. Istanbul Museum.

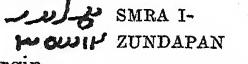
ETN. 9. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

66. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

Pl. VII. 11.

Pl. VII. 12.

Pl. VIII. 2.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 25			<p>Mint (مَسْنَى) ? Year 54 (A.H.) ?</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint-signature and date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 91, no. 40). The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Apparently the marginal legend was بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ and the Governor's name was said to be truncated: ZIYAT-I ABUSUFA. Unfortunately it was not reproduced. Mordtmann himself thought the mint-legend = UT (?). It seems to me to resemble more mint-signature no. 56 (ZANKAN). Cf. also mint-signatures nos. 62, 62 <i>a</i>, and 62 <i>b</i>.</p>	
M. 26			<p>(iii) Samura ibn Jundab (سُمَرَةُ بْنُ جَنْدَبٍ) Dārābjird</p> <p>Year 41=A.H. 52/53</p> <p>The first coin of Samura was published, unfortunately without reproduction, by Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 99, no. 76) from the Prokesch-Osten cabinet (see also his article in <i>S.K.B.A.</i>, 1871, p. 698). The following details only can be deduced from his description:</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; name-legend</p> <p style="text-align: center;">            SMRA I-          ZUNDAPAN       </p> <p>margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ *</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 18=DAR; date ۴۱=YAJHL; margin *</p>
Sch. 2 (Fig. 3)	A.R 1.25		<p>As M. 26 above.</p>	<p>As M. 26 above.</p>

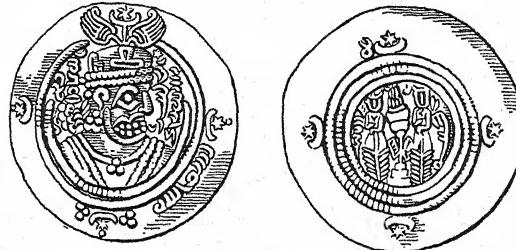


FIG. 3.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			(iv) 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir <i>(عبد الله بن عامر)</i> Ardashir-Khurra Year 47 (A.H.)	
67	45.7 2.96	R 1.1	<p>Usual Sassanian bust; breast-ornament <math>\ddot{\wedge}</math>; crescent over l. shoulder; name-legend</p> <p><i>APDULA</i> <i>I-AMIRAN</i></p> <p>margin <math>\ddot{\wedge}</math> <i>بسم الله</i> [edge cut particularly at bottom and l.]</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 9 = ART; date <math>\omega\omega\omega\omega</math> = HFTYHL; pellet r. and l. of mint-signature [margin, surface pitted].</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VIII. 3.</p>
68	53.1 3.44	R 1.25	<p>As above, but breast-ornament <math>\ddot{\wedge}</math>; additional (accidental?) pellet on neck [right side badly cut away].</p>	<p>As above, but mint-signature no. 12 = BISH; date <math>\omega\omega\omega\omega</math> = JHARJHL.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VIII. 4.</p>
69	58.4 3.74	R 1.3	<p>As above; no pellet on neck; name-legend transposed</p> <p><i>I-AMIRAN</i> <i>APDULA</i></p> <p>countermarks nos. 11 and 3 in first and fourth quarters respectively.</p>	<p>As above, but date abbreviated <math>\omega\omega\omega\omega</math> = JHARJH (sic) [edge scored in fourth quarter].</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VIII. 5.</p>

67. G. Smith and H. Rassam (from Nineveh excavations) presented 1878.

68, 69. R. B. Whitehead 1922.

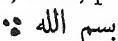
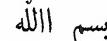
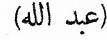
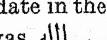
No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
70	48.6 3.15	AR 1.15	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Dārābjird</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 41 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>Usual bust; ear-ring ♀; name-legends as on no. 67 above; margin  <math>\therefore \ddot{*} \therefore</math> اللہ مسیح</p>	<p>Usual fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 19=DR, partly obliterated; date <u>لـوـع</u>=YAJHL [margin partly corroded bottom].</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VIII. 6.</p>
71	53.6 3.47	AR 1.25	As above, but name-legends partly obliterated by countermark no. 10 in first quarter.	<p>As above, but mint-signature clearer [scored in third quarter].</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VIII. 7.</p>
Th. 7	63.2 4.10	AR 1.25	As no. 70, but ear-ring ♀.	<p>As above, but mint-signature no. 17=DA; small star r. and small crescent l. of flames respectively.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VIII. 8.</p>
M. 27			<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 43 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 98, no. 74) records a coin in his own collection of this mint and date. As he does not reproduce it and he normally reads the Pehlevi date <u>لـوـع</u> as SIJHL (i.e. 43) instead of as YAJHL (i.e. 41), it may be presumed that the above date is problematical. In all respects the coin seems, so far as his description goes, to resemble no. 70 above except that the reverse apparently had •<del>خ</del> in the margin.</p>	
72	53 3.43	AR 1.25	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Uncertain Mint</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 30 (=A.H. 41?)</i></p> <p>Usual bust, but very crude workmanship; name-legends very scratchily executed and indistinct; margin ♀ اللہ مسیح; countermark no. 10 in first quarter; fillet and crescent over l. shoulder almost obliterated.</p>	<p>Usual fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 58=BN(?); date <u>لـوـع</u>=SIH.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. VIII. 9.</p>

70. M. Eustache de Lorey presented 1923.

Th. 7. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

72. Mrs. Jacomb (ex. Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

71. Anon. presented 1934.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 28			<p>Merv?</p> <p>Year 41 (A.H.)</p> <p>The only authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 98, no. 72), who gives the margin as  with a countermark  in the fourth quarter. He states that the coin in question is in the Berlin Museum, but it is not among the coins subsequently published by Nützel in his catalogue. The countermark is of interest as it is like the symbol found on Arab-Ephthalite coins (p. 127).</p>	
ETN. 10	R 1.25		<p>Nahr-Tirā</p> <p>Year 20 (=A.H. 31)</p> <p>As no. 72 above, but more distinct; marginal legend defectively written (<i>sic</i>) </p>	<p>As no. 72 above, but small star r. and small crescent l. of flames; mint-signature no. 44=NHR and date  VIST:</p> <p>PI. VIII. 10.</p>
M. 29			<p>Uncertain Mint</p> <p>Year 44 (A.H.)</p> <p>Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1858, p. 52, no. 301 = <i>Tiesenhausen</i>, no. 87) records a coin in his own cabinet with this governor's name (APDULA/I-AMIRAN) and with a mint-signature which he reads as SK=Sijistan. The date was in the form JHRJHLA. But as the coin is not reproduced it is impossible to verify these readings.</p>	
M. 30			<p>(v) 'Abdallāh</p> <p></p> <p>Bishāpūr</p> <p>Year 42</p> <p>Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 98, no. 73) records a coin of this mint and date in the Subhi Pasha Collection. The marginal legend was  and the name-legend was 'Abdallāh only, without any patronymic. Unfortunately no reproduction was given.</p>	

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
73	60.5 3.92	AR 1.3	Year 44 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust as on no. 68 above, but name-legends $\omega\mu\omega$ APDULA; uncertain countermark in first quarter.	Usual Sassanian fire-altar as on no. 68 above; mint-signature no. 12=BISH; date $\omega\mu\omega$ =JHARJH ( <i>sic</i> ). Pl. VIII. 11.
Th. 8	60.7 3.93	AR 1.35	Year 20? (=A.H. 31?) As above, but name-legends written as follows $\omega\mu\omega$ APDULA [slightly double-struck]; crescent above fillet on l. shoulder [edge cut at top].	As above, but mint-signature no. 60=BJ(?); date $\omega\mu\omega$ =V(I)ST:(?). Pl. XXXIII. 3.
74	51 3.30	AR 1.15	Year 41 (A.H.) As no. 70 above, but name-legends $\omega\mu\omega$ APDULA [corroded on l.]	Dārābjird As no. 70 above, but mint-signature no. 17=DA [corroded at top]. Pl. IX. 1.
Th. 9	58 3.75	AR 1.2	As above [but in better preservation]; margin $\zeta$	As above, but date thus: $\omega\mu\omega$ Pl. IX. 2.
I. 22		AR	As above.	As above, but mint-signature no. 19=DR.
M. 31			Year 49? The sole authority for this is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1858, p. 50, no. 292=Tiesenhausen, no. 96), who, however, does not reproduce it. The details agree with those of no. 74 above except, it is said, for the date which Mordtmann read as NVJHL ( $\omega\mu\omega$ ). I suspect, however, that this is only a variant of YAJHL ( $\omega\mu\omega$ ) i.e. 41. The coin in question was in the Subhi Pasha Collection.	

73. R. B. Whitehead 1922.

74. M. Eustache de Lorey presented 1923.

I. 22. Istanbul Museum. There is also one in the Arab Museum, Damascus.

Th. 8. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

Th. 9. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 32			Kanja? Year 40? (A.H.) Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1858, p. 50, no. 291) mentions a coin of this date with the mint-signature no. 27 which he interpreted as KNJA (KNJ). Unfortunately it was not reproduced. It was in the Subhi Pasha Collection.	
B. 10	57.4 3.72	R 1.2	Nihāvand Year 41 (A.H.) As no. 74 above, but margin * اللَّهُمَّ	As no. 74 above, but mint-signature no. 43 = NH; date شَهْرٌ = YAJHL; crescent r. of flames missing. Pl. XXXIII. 4.
Dam. 2		R 1.15	Nahr-Tirā Year 20? (A.H. 31?) As above.	As above, but mint-signature no. 44 = NHR; date شَهْرٌ = VIST(?) ; usual crescent r. of flames. Pl. XXXIII. 5.
Dam. 3		R 1.3	Year 48? (A.H.) As above, but fuller bust and name-legend <u>وَبِهِ</u> APDULA; margin * اللَّهُمَّ (*) traces of legend (Arabic?) in third quarter (? شَهْرٌ) [My Lord is Allah the One].	As above; date شَهْرٌ = HSHTJHL(?). Pl. XXXIII. 6.
Dam. 4		R 1.3	Al-Shirajān? Year 50 (A.H.) As Dam. 2 above.	As Dam. 2 above, but mint-signature no. 49 = SHI(?); date شَهْرٌ = PNJAH. Pl. XXXIII. 7.

B. 10. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 94 a, p. 371).

Dam. 2, 3, 4. Arab Museum, Damascus.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
SHM. 1	43.5 2.82	AR 1.15	<p style="text-align: center;">Zaranj</p> <p>Year 41 (A.H.)</p> <p>As Dam. 2 above [edge partly clipped; holed on l.].</p>	<p>As Dam. 2 above, but mint-signature no. 57 b = ZR; date YAJHL.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXIII. 8.</p>
75	41.3 2.68	AR 1	<p style="text-align: center;">(vi) 'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād</p> <p style="text-align: center;">عَبِيدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ</p> <p style="text-align: center;">†A.H. 67 = A.D. 686</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Without Mint or Date</p> <p>New type of Sassanian bust facing r.; ψ l. and r. of crown; over l. shoulder ϖ in place of small crescent; ear-ring ϕ; breast-ornament ϕ; legend r. downwards in thick Pehlevi script</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>أَبْدَلَا</u> <u>سَرْبَلَا</u> <u>سَرْبَلَا</u> I-ZIYATAN</p> <p>l. downwards AFZUT, written defectively (ψψψ), and GDH; fillet over r. shoulder only; all within triple circle [coin pierced at top and clipped so that it is impossible to tell whether there was a marginal legend].</p>	<p>New type of Sassanian fire-altar with small six-pointed star on either side of altar-pedestal; r. a figure seated, facing the flames, and holding a torch (presumably) in both hands; l. another celebrant, standing in the same attitude; the structure and ornamentation of the altar, as well as the wearing-apparel of the two ministrants, are clearly delineated; traces of outer circle with ornamental scroll l. and r. at the bottom.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. IX. 3.</p>
M. 33			<p style="text-align: center;">Airan (Sūsa)</p> <p>Year 29? (=A.H. 61?)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 92, no. 42). Apparently the margin was ψψψ, but otherwise of the usual Sassanian type. In the first quarter was ψψψ (cf. I. 23 below). The weight was 52.4 grs. (3.4 grms.) and the mint-signature was no. 5=AIR. The coin was in Mordtmann's private collection.</p>	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
I. 23		R	<p><i>Year 30 (=A.H. 62)</i>            Usual Sassanian bust; name-legends as on no. 75 above; margin as on M. 33 above with <b>AR</b> in first quarter.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 7 =AIRAN; date <b>SH</b> =SH.</p>
I. 24		R	<p><i>Year 31 (=A.H. 63)</i>            As above.</p>	<p>As above, but date <b>AYUKSH</b>.</p>
Th. 10	46.1 2.99	R 1.2	<p><i>Year 32 (=A.H. 64)</i>            As above.</p>	<p>As above, but date <b>DUSH</b>.  <b>Pl. IX. 4.</b></p>
M. 34			<p><i>Year 56? (A.H.)</i>            Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 93, no. 48) recorded a remarkable coin of this mint and year which was in his own collection. Apparently the governor's name AUBITALA was as usual r. of the bust, but in place of the customary ARZUT behind the head there was the second line of the name-legends (I-ZIVATAN). The margin was <b>* ALL</b> and the mint-signature no. 6 =AIRA. While unwilling to doubt Mordtmann's statement about such an unusual variation in the name-legends, I am at the same time rather inclined to believe that the coin in question was one of those described below (O. 7, p. 74) with the name of 'Ubaidallâh only, and that Mordtmann interpreted <b>ABR</b> as <b>ABR</b>.</p>	
M. 35			<p><i>Year 59 (A.H.)</i>            The sole authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 94, no. 54). Apparently it resembled Th. 10 above except that the mint-signature was no. 5 =AIR. The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection.</p>	

I. 23. Istanbul Museum.

I. 24. Istanbul Museum. Cf. J. 2 below, p. 54.

Th. 10. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
I. 25		R	Year 60 (A.H.) As Th. 10 above.	As Th. 10 above, but date <del>١٢٣٤</del> = <u>SHST</u> :
J. 2	47.3 3.06	R 1.2	Year 61 (A.H.) As Th. 10 above.	As Th. 10 above, but date <del>١٢٣٥</del> <u>AYUKSHST</u> .
B. 11	45.2 2.93	R 1.1	Year 62 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no fillet or small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legend as above; margin  $\text{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم}$ [clipped on l.]	Adharbaijān Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint- signature no. 10= <u>ATRA</u> ; date <del>١٢٣٦</del> = <u>DUSHST</u> :  Pl. IX. 5.
I. 26		R	Year 63 (A.H.) As above.	As above, but date <del>١٢٣٧</del> = <u>SSHST</u> :
ETN. 11		R 1.25	Year 62 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no fillet or crescent over l. shoulder; breast-ornament $\ddot{\circ}\ddot{\circ}$ ; name-legend as on no. 75 above; margin  $\text{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم}$	Balkh Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint- signature no. 14= <u>BLH</u> ; date <del>١٢٣٨</del> = <u>DUSHST</u> :  Pl. IX. 6.

L. 25. Istanbul Museum.

J. 2. Jena (Stickel, *Handbuch*, ii, p. 90, no. 47, Pl.).

B. 11. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 115).

B. H. Kaiser Friedrich  
L. 26. Istanbul Museum.

F. 26. Istanbul Museum.  
ETN 11 E T Newell Collection, New York

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
B. 12		AR .95	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Bihkobādh</b></p> <p><i>Year 60 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As above, but breast-ornament <math>\odot</math>; margin  <math>\begin{array}{c} * \\ \odot \\ * \end{array} :: \text{All} \text{ } \mu \text{ss} \text{ } *</math>  [a large part of the margin has been cut off].</p>	<p>As above, but mint-signature no. 11 <math>a = \text{BH}</math>; date  <math>\begin{array}{c} 12 \\ 11 \end{array} = \text{SHST}</math>:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. IX. 7.</p>
I. 27		AR	<p><i>Year 61 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As above, but margin untrimmed.</p>	<p>As above, but date  <math>\begin{array}{c} 12 \\ 11 \end{array} = \text{AYUKSHST}</math>:</p>
Cam. 3	49.4 3.20	AR 1.3	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Bishāpūr</b></p> <p><i>Year 51 (=A.H. 63)</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends AUBITALA/I-ZIYATAN; margin  <math>\begin{array}{c} * \\ \odot \\ * \end{array} :: \text{All} \text{ } \mu \text{ss}</math>  countermarks no. 11 in first and no. 4 in fourth quarter respectively, no. 21 over star and crescent on r.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 12 <math>= \text{BISH}</math>; date AYUPNJA.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXIII. 9.</p>
76	62.9 4.08	AR 1.25	<p><i>Year 53 (A.H. or A.H. 64)</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no fillet or crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends as above and margin  <math>\begin{array}{c} \omega \\ \odot \\ * \end{array} :: \text{All} \text{ } \mu \text{ss}</math></p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature as above; date  <math>\begin{array}{c} 12 \\ 11 \end{array} = \text{SPNJA}</math>.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. IX. 8.</p>

B. 12. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 116, Pl. II).

I. 27. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

Cam. 3. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

76. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 36			<p><i>Year 58</i></p> <p>The coin of this mint and date reported by Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1865, p. 472, no. 159) is really of the mint of Başra (BJRA) as correctly stated by Thomas (<i>Prinsep's Essays</i>, i, p. 65). See below no. 80.</p>	
T. 7			<p>The coin ascribed by Thomas (<i>J.R.A.S.</i>, 1850, p. 291, no. 10, Pl. II, fig. ii) to this mint and dated 56 (or 58) is more likely in my opinion to be of the same mint as no. 79 described below, p. 58. The coin described by Thomas was in the Masson Collection. Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1854, p. 154, no. 776) accepted Thomas's reading but later (<i>ibid.</i>, 1879, p. 93) he read the mint-signature as BBA and regarded the date as 59.</p>	
M. 37			<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Basra</i></p> <p><i>Year 29?</i></p> <p>Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 92, no. 41) records a coin in the Subhi Pasha Collection of this mint and date. Unfortunately it is not reproduced. In the absence of the actual coin I can only conjecture that the date 29 NUVIST: (۲۹۰۰۰۰) has been derived from the real date 62 DUSHST: (۶۲۰۰۰۰۰). This same confusion has arisen in the case of other coins. In fact the coin described in the Istanbul Museum Catalogue (no. 3) as a coin of Khusrāw II of the above mint and date is, as I have seen on examination, a coin of 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād of the above mint but with the date clearly 62 (DUSHST:). I suspect that the Mordtmann coin was similar.</p>	
O. 3		R	<p><i>Year 31?</i></p> <p>There is a coin in the Osman Arıdağ Collection in Istanbul of this mint on which the date looks like 31 (AYUKISH), but as in every other detail the coin resembles the coins of 'Ubaydallāh of the same mint clearly dated 61 (AYUKISHST:), I think it certain that the date has been curtailed and that the coins are all of the same year (see below, nos. 85, 86).</p>	Pl. XL. 3.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
O. 4		AR 1.2	<p>Year 51 (=A.H. 63)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends as on no. 75 above; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* :: ۴۱ ۷۵</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 13 = B<small>Y</small>R<small>A</small>; date <del>۶۳</del> = AYUPN<small>JA</small>.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XL. 4.</p>
To. 1			<p>Year 52 (=A.H. 64)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and date is Tornberg (<i>Symbolae</i>, iii, p. 24, no. 61). The coin was in the Lund University Collection. Unfortunately it is not reproduced.</p>	
I. 28			<p>Year 53</p> <p>The coin of this mint and date recorded in the Istanbul Museum Catalogue (no. 9) I have found on examination to bear the date 56 (see below, nos. 77, 78).</p>	
I. 29			<p>Year 54</p> <p>The coin of this mint and date recorded in the Istanbul Museum Catalogue (no. 10) I have found on examination to bear the date 57.</p>	
77	59.5 3.86	AR 1.3	<p>Year 56 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends as on no. 75 above; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* :: ۴۱ ۷۵</p> <p>traces of countermark no. 34 (?) in first quarter.</p>	<p>Usual fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 13 = B<small>Y</small>R<small>A</small>; date <del>۶۳</del> = SHSHPN<small>JA</small>.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. IX. 9.</p>
78	53.6 3.47	AR 1.25	<p>As above, but narrower face and without countermark.</p>	<p>As above.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. IX. 10.</p>

O. 4. Osman Arıdağ Collection, Istanbul.

77. R. B. Whitehead 1922. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 101.

78. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936. *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 433.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Ox. 2		R 1	Year 57 (A.H.) As above, but small crescent over l. shoulder [margin partly cut off].	As above, but date HFTPNJA. <b>Pl. XXXIII. 10.</b>
79	57.9 3.75	R 1.35	Year 58 (A.H.) As no. 78 above, but with small crescent over l. shoulder.	As no. 78 above; date <del>ASHTPNJA</del> = HSHTPNJA; pellet r. of mint-name. <b>Pl. X. 1.</b>
80	63.1 4.09	R 1.3	As above.	As above, but variation in the epigraphy of the date.
81	42.2 2.73	R 1.15	Year 59 (A.H.) As no. 79 above [edge slightly clipped].	As no. 79 above, but date <del>ASHTPNJA</del> = NAVPNJA. <b>Pl. X. 2.</b>
82	55.6 3.60	R 1.25	As above, but margin * :: $\text{ال}$ $\text{مع$ countermarks nos. 14 and 33 in first and fourth quarter respectively; pellet below * in margin.	As above. <b>Pl. X. 3.</b>
83	51.1 3.31	R 1.1	Year 60 (A.H.) As no. 82 above, but breast-ornament $\ddot{\text{x}}$ ; earring $\ddot{\text{x}}$ ; no small crescent above l. shoulder; no countermarks [encrusted on r. margin].	As no. 82 above, but date <del>ASHTPNJA</del> = SHST: <b>Pl. X. 4.</b>
84	59.9 3.88	R 1.3	As above, but countermark no. 39 in first quarter.	As above. <b>Pl. X. 6.</b>

Ox. 2. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 102.

79. Mrs. Brereton, 1859.

80. M. Eustache de Lorey presented 1923.

81. M. Jacques de Morgan presented 1920.

82. Count de Salis (ex Ismail Pasha Collection) presented 1862.

83. M. Eustache de Lorey presented 1923.

84. Eden Collection 1853.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
RB. 8	61.3 3.97	R 1.3	As above, but ear-ring as usual. . . and small crescent over l. shoulder and breast-ornament . . . as on no. 82 above; pellet below ♀ in margin.	As above.  Pl. XXXIV. 1.
ETN. 12		R 1.3	As above, but no small crescent over l. shoulder.	As above. Pl. XXXIV. 2.
			Year 61 (A.H.)	
85	61.2 3.97	R 1.3	As no. 84 above, but narrower face; ear-ring ♀; no countermarks; no trace of pellet before  ♀ :: اللہ سے	As no. 84 above, but date ۱۲۴۳ھ = AYUKISHST:  Pl. X. 7.
86	53.7 3.48	R 1.35	As above, but more worn.	As above, but slight variation in the epigraphy of the date.  Pl. X. 5.
			Year 62 (A.H.)	
87	5.38 3.49	R 1.2	As no. 85 above, but fuller face; ear-ring . . . as usual.	As no. 85 above, but date ۱۲۴۴ھ = DUSHST: Pl. X. 8.
88	43.1 2.79	R 1.15	As above, but more obliterated and clipped.	As above, but slight variation in the epigraphy of the date.
			Year 63 (A.H.)	
RB. 9	62.3 4.04	R 1.35	As no. 87 above.	As no. 87 above, but date ۱۲۴۵ھ = SISHST:

RB. 8. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.

ETN. 12. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

85, 86. M. Jacques de Morgan presented 1920.

87. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

88. Sir Arnold Wilson presented 1924.

RB. 9. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford. Cf. also Lavoix, no. 140.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Ox. 3	35.5 2.30	R .95	As above; behind head AFZUT instead of AFZUT: [margin almost clipped away].	As above, but date written as SSHST: <del>١٢٣٣</del>  Pl. XXXIV. 3.
B. 13	41.5 2.69	R 1.05	As above, but margin apparently <del>ك</del> .. الل بسم [clipped].	As above, but date thus: <del>١٢٣٣</del> = SSHST:  Pl. X. 9.
O. 5		R 1.05	Year 64 (A.H.) As no. 87 above [but margin clipped].	As above, but date <del>١٢٣٣</del> = JHARSHST:  Pl. XL. 5.
Cam. 4	57.8 3.74	R 1.35	As no. 87 above, but triangle of dots after the basmala, in the margin; countermarks no. 14 on r. and no. 48 (without pellets below) in third quarter.	As above.  Pl. XXXIV. 4.
M. 38			Year 67? (A.H.) The sole evidence for this mint and date is the interpretation by Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1858, p. 52, no. 300) of a very indistinct ( <i>sehr undeutlich</i> ) specimen in the Subhi Pasha Collection.	
T. 8			Year 68 (A.H.) Thomas (J.R.A.S., 1850, p. 291) states that this date is common and refers to an example in the Masson Collection. I know of no instance of this mint and date. If I may venture an explanation it is that the coins which have been read as dated 68 ( <del>١٢٣٣</del> HSHTSHST:) are really dated 61 ( <del>١٢٣٣</del> AYUKISHST:), cf. nos. 85, 86 above. As 'Ubaiddallāh was killed in A.H. 67 such coins would have been posthumous. An examination of the Berlin specimens ( <i>Nützel</i> , nos. 106, 107) and those of Paris ( <i>Lavoix</i> , no. 141) convinces me that this is not the case here, although an actual posthumous issue does exist in an 'Ubaiddallāh coin of the mint of Raiy dated 68. See below B. 16, Pl. XXXIV, 8.	

Ox. 3. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

B. 13. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 105). Cf. *Lavoix*, no. 140.

O. 5. Osman Arıdağ Collection, İstanbul.

Cam. 4. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. See note to O. 5.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Uncertain Mint				
<i>Year 51? or 59?</i>				
T. 9			The coin described by Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1850, p. 291, no. 10) in the Masson Collection seems to be of this same mint (see his Pl. II, fig. ii). The date is uncertain ( <i>uncertain</i> ). Thomas read it as either 56 or 58. It might possibly be a defective 51 or 59. He also interpreted the mint-signature (no. 16) as <u>BISH</u> , but as it does not agree in style with any known examples of that mint (cf. above no. 76) Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 93 = <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1854, p. 154, no. 776) regarded the mint-signature as a variant of no. 14, which he interpreted as <u>BBA</u> , and the date as 59.	
<i>Year 58 (A.H.)</i>				
M. 39			Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 93, no. 51) records specimens in his own and in the Subhi Pasha Collection with the above mint-signature, which he interprets as <u>KSH</u> (= <u>KISHT</u> ). Apparently the margin was <u>س</u> :: <u>ال</u> <u>س</u> . Neither coin was reproduced.	
<i>Year 59 (A.H.)</i>				
M. 40			Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 94, no. 53) recorded a coin of this date with mint-signature no. 16, which he interpreted as <u>KSH</u> (= <u>KISHT</u> ). It was in his own collection. Unfortunately it was not reproduced.	
<i>Year 60 (A.H.)</i>				
89	52 3.36	AR 1.15	As no. 83 above.	As no. 83 above, but mint-signature no. 16 = <u>BSH</u> (?); pellet in front of mint-signature. <b>Pl. X. 10.</b>

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Cam. 5		AR 1.35	<p style="text-align: center;">Dārābjird</p> <p>Year 26 (=A.H. 58?)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust ; small crescent but no fillet over l. shoulder; ear-ring ☀ and breast-ornament ☀; name-legends AUBITALA/I-ZIYATAN ; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">سَمْوَاتُ اللَّهِ</p> <p>countermarks no. 14 and 39 (?) on r.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants ; small star l. and crescent r. of flames ; mint-signature no. 17 = DA ; date = SHSHVIST.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXIV. 5.</p>
B. 14	51.4 3.33	AR 1.05	<p>Year 41 (=A.H. 52/3)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust ; small crescent and fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends :</p> <p style="text-align: center;">أَبْدُلَا زِيَّاتَانْ</p> <p>margin سَمْوَاتُ اللَّهِ</p> <p>[slightly clipped; margin if intact probably same as on no. 90 below].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants ; small star r. and small crescent l. of flames respectively ; mint-signature no. 17 = DA ; date يَاجْهَلْ = YAJHL ; margin سَمْوَاتُ</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXIV. 6.</p>
M. 41			<p>Year 43 (=A.H. 55)</p> <p>Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1865, p. 471, no. 158) describes a coin of this mint and date in the Collection of S. Ali-shan. He gives the Pehlevi date as سِيِّعْ (SIJHL), but as the coin is not reproduced it is impossible to be sure that the date is actually 43 and not 41. Cf. above B. 14.</p>	

Cam. 5. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

B. 14. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 108). In the Berlin Catalogue it is dated 43 (S̄JHL). Cf. below M. 41.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
90	59.7 3.87	R 1.2	<p>Year 45 (=A.H. 57)</p> <p>As B. 14 above, but name-legend</p> <p style="text-align: center;">— سُورَةُ الْمُنْذِرِ — — عَبْدُ اللَّهِ ابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ — — أُبِيدُلَا — — إِلَيْهِ زِيَادَتْ — margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p> <p>[edge worn almost obscuring the pellets].</p>	<p>As B. 14 above, but date <u>سُورَةُ</u> = PNJHL.</p> <p>Pl. X. 11.</p>
B. 15	55.7 3.61	R 1.15	<p>Year 46 (=A.H. 58)</p> <p>As no. 90 above, but name-legend</p> <p style="text-align: center;">— سُورَةُ الْمُنْذِرِ — — عَبْدُ اللَّهِ ابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ — — أُبِيدُلَا — — إِلَيْهِ زِيَادَتْ — margin clearly discernible</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p>	<p>As no. 90 above, but date <u>سُورَةُ</u> = SHSHJHL; and no Pehlevi characters in margin.</p> <p>Pl. XI. 1.</p>
O. 6		R 1.2	<p>Year 47 (=A.H. 59)</p> <p>As B. 15 above, but name-legend</p> <p style="text-align: center;">— سُورَةُ الْمُنْذِرِ — — عَبْدُ اللَّهِ ابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ — — أُبِيدُلَا — — إِلَيْهِ زِيَادَتْ — margin</p>	<p>As B. 15 above, but date <u>سُورَةُ</u> = HFTJHL.</p> <p>Pl. XL. 6.</p>
I. 30		R	<p>Year 48 (=A.H. 60)</p> <p>As B. 15 above.</p>	<p>As B. 15 above, but date <u>سُورَةُ</u> = HSHTJHL.</p>
91	64.3 4.17	R 1.25	<p>Year 51 (=A.H. 63)</p> <p>As B. 15 above, but breast-ornament</p>	<p>As B. 15 above, but date <u>سُورَةُ</u> = AYUPNJA; small crescent l. and small star r. of flames; margin d<del>s</del></p> <p>Pl. XI. 2.</p>

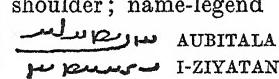
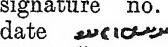
90 Claude Stewart 1848

B. 15. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 110).

B. 15. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin  
Q. 6. Osman Arıdağ Collection, Istanbul

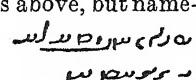
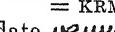
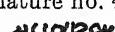
O. 6. Osman Aridag Collection, Istanbul.  
I. 30. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

91. East India Company 1845.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
P. 4	60.6 3.93	AR 1.2	Year 52 (=A.H. 64) As B. 15 above.	As no. 91 above, but date DUPNJAH; margin  Pl. XXXIV. 7.
92	60.4 3.91	AR 1.3	Year 56 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends  margin  countermark no. 14 in first quarter.	Sistān Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 52 = SK; date  (sic) = SHSHPNJAH. Pl. XI. 3.
93	54.7 3.54	AR 1.2	As above, but without countermark [holed in first quarter].	As above, but date written thus:  = SHSHPNJA. Pl. XI. 5.
94	45.8 2.97	AR 1.05	As above, but small crescent in field in front of brow; traces of additional legend in third quarter; countermark no. 11 in first quarter [badly clipped so that little remains of margin].	As above, but date written thus: SHSHPNJAH as on no. 92 above.
M. 42			Year 57 (A.H.) The sole authority for this mint-signature and date is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 93, no. 50). Apparently the margin was as on no. 92 above. The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection, but unfortunately was not reproduced. Mordtmann attributed it to the mint of Yezd.	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
T. 10			Year 58? (A.H.) Thomas ( <i>Prinsep's Essays</i> , i, p. 65) records a coin of (probably) this mint and date, but the reading is very suspect.	
J. 3	56.0 3.63	AR 1.2	Year 63 (A.H.) Stickel ( <i>Handbuch</i> , ii, p. 90, no. 46, Pl.) records a coin apparently of this mint-signature and year in the Jena Cabinet, but unfortunately he only gives a reproduction of the mint-signature. It is most unlikely that this is a correct attribution since the marginal legend is: بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ (though Stickel wrongly read <i>أولى</i> ), which only occurs on the coins of this governor issued at the mint of Bishāpūr.	
Do. 3				Kirmān
I. 31		AR	Year 56? (A.H.) Dorn ( <i>Mélanges</i> , ii, p. 260, no. 11 = <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , no. 123) records a coin of this mint and year, but in the absence of reproduction the date is without verification.  Year 59 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; breast-ornament *; name-legends as on no. 92 above.	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 34 = KRMANNHR; date <del>سقرا</del> = NVPNJAH.
95	61.6 3.99	AR 1.3	Year 60 (A.H.) As above, but breast-ornament . as usual; margin <i>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ</i> countermark no. 14 in first quarter.	As above, but mint-signature no. 35 a = KRMANHP.; date <u>ش</u> SHST:

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No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
96	60.7 3.93	AR 1.3	As above, but margin  [pierced top and bottom]; no countermark.	As above, but mint-signature no. 36 = KRMANNAN . . (?)  Pl. XII. 1.
I. 32		AR	Year 61 (A.H.) As above, but name-legend  PIRŪJ AUBITALA I-ZIYATAN margin * :: الله بسم	As above, but mint-signature no. 34 = KRMANNHR ; date  = AYUSHST: (sic).
97	52.9 3.43	AR 1.25	Year 62 (A.H.) As no. 96 above, but small crescent over l. shoulder; margin * :: الله بسم *  (?)  [surface worn smooth].	As no. 96 above, but mint-signature no. 31 = KRMAN . . (?) ; date  = DUSHST:  Pl. XII. 2.
M. 43			Merv al-Rūdh Year 64 ? The sole authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1879, p. 95, no. 66). He states that the coin is in the Berlin Museum, but there is no mention of such in Nützel's Catalogue, so that it seems probable that the attribution is erroneous.	
ETN. 13		AR 1.15	Nihāvand Year 57 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legend as on no. 96 above; margin * :: الله بسم	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 43 b = NH ; date  = HFTPNA.

96. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

I. 32. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

97. Count de Salis (ex Ismail Pasha Collection) presented 1862.

ETN. 13. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ETN. 14		AR 1.25	As above, but broader face; no small crescent over l. shoulder.  <i>Year 58 (A.H.)</i>	As above.  <b>Pl. XII. 4.</b>
I. 33		AR	As above.	As above, but date <del>سنه</del> = <u>HSHTPNJA</u> .
M. 44			<i>Year 59 (A.H.)</i>  Mordtmann mentioned but did not reproduce ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 93, no. 52) a coin of this date and mint-signature, which he interpreted as NI(SSA). The coin was in his own cabinet.	
98	62 4.01	AR 1.3	<i>Year 60 (A.H.)</i>  As no. ETN. 14 above, but narrower face; margin <del>سنه</del> :: <u>الع</u> <u>مع</u> breast-ornament <del>سنه</del> ; countermark no. 33 in third quarter.	As ETN. 14 above, but date <del>سنه</del> = <u>SHST</u> :  <b>Pl. XII. 5.</b>
Mar. 1			<i>Year 62 (A.H.)</i>  The sole evidence for this mint and date is Markoff ( <i>Monnaies Arsacides</i> , &c., p. 130, no. 49). The marginal legend was apparently like that on no. 98 above.	
I. 34		AR	<i>Year 63 (A.H.)</i>  As no. 98.	As no. 98, but date <del>سنه</del> = <u>SISHST</u> :

ETN. 14. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

I. 33. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

I. 34. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

98. East India Company 1845.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 45			<p style="text-align: center;">Uncertain Mint (<u>مكنا</u>)?</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 27? (=A.H. 59?)</i></p> <p>The sole authority for this mint-signature and date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1854, p. 154, no. 773 = <i>Tiesenhausen</i>, no. 71). The former interpreted the mint-signature <u>NSHH</u> = <u>NISHĀPŪR</u>. Unfortunately the coin, which was in his own collection, was not reproduced. The date if correct would be in terms of the post-Yezdigird Era, and not in terms of the Hijra as Tiesenhausen considered it to be. But the whole reading is suspect.</p>	
I. 35		AR	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>al-Raiy</i></p> <p><i>Year 38?</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* :: اللہ بسم الله *</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 48 = <u>RD</u>; date <u>ربيع</u> (<i>sic</i>) = <u>HSHTSH</u>.</p>
I. 36			<i>Year 57</i>	<p>The coin mentioned in the Istanbul Catalogue (no. 11) of this mint (though the signature is read as <u>ZD</u> = Zadracarta) and ascribed to this year is actually, as I found on examination, of the year <u>DUSHST</u> (62).</p>
99	63·2 4·1	AR 1·3	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 60 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legend as on no. 92 above; breast-ornament ; ear-ring ; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* :: اللہ بسم الله *</p> <p>pellet also over star and crescent above crown.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 48 = <u>RD</u>; date <u>SHST</u>:</p>
100	62·4 4·04	AR 1·3	As above.	<b>Pl. XI. 4.</b>
				<b>Pl. XI. 6.</b>

I. 35. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

99, 100. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
101	62.8 4.07	R 1.3	Year 61 (A.H.) As no. 99 above.	As no. 99 above, but date <del>ربيع</del> = YAJSHST: Pl. XI. 7.
102	63.2 4.1	R 1.3	As above.	As above, but date <del>رمضان</del> = AYUKSHST: Pl. XI. 8.
103	57 3.69	R 1.25	Year 62 (A.H.) As above.	As above, but date <del>يناير</del> = TRINSHST: Pl. XI. 9.
104	60.1 3.89	R 1.3	As above.	As above, but date <del>فبراير</del> = DUSHST: Pl. XI. 11.
I. 37		R	Year 63 (A.H.) As no. 103 above.	As no. 103 above, but date <del>مارس</del> = TLTSHST:
B. 16	58.7 3.80	R 1.35	Year 68 (A.H.) As no. 103 above [pierced at top].	As no. 103 above, but date HSHTSHST: Pl. XXXIV. 8.
ANS. 11		R 1.15	Dash <i>t-i</i> -Maisān ? Year 56 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends as on no. 92 above; margin * :: اللهم سلام [slightly clipped].	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 23 = DSHT (?); date <del>سبتمبر</del> = SHSHPNJA pellet in first quarter of margin. Pl. XI. 10.

101, 102, 103, 104. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

I. 37. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

B. 16. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 120).

ANS. 11. American Numismatic Society, New York.

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No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Cam. 6		AR	Year 61? (A.H.) As above, but breast-ornament  [coin cut].	As above; date defective at end, probably = <u>AYUKISH</u> (ST) (?).
I. 38		AR	Year 62 (A.H.) As above; margin clearly  ::	As above, but date = <u>DUSHST</u> :
105	56.5 3.66	AR 1.3	Year 63 (A.H.) As above, but breast-ornament  suspended from double row of pearls; margin :: * [pierced at side r.]	As above, but date  = <u>SISHST</u> : <b>Pl. XI. 12.</b>
B. 17	43.1 2.79	AR 1.15	As I. 38 above [clipped].	As I. 38 above, but date  = <u>SSHST</u> : <b>Pl. XXXIV. 9.</b>
I. 39		AR	Year 64 (A.H.) As no. 105 above.	As no. 105 above, but date  = <u>JHRSHST</u> :
To. 2			İstakhr Year 52?	Tornberg ( <i>Symbolae</i> , iii, p. 24, no. 60) mentions a coin of this mint and date, but unfortunately does not reproduce it. See <i>Tiesenhausen</i> , no. 105.

Cam. 6. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

I. 38. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

105. J. E. Taylor (Consul at Diarbekr) presented 1865.

B. 17. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 122, Pl. II).

I. 39. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
106	57·8 3·75	AR 1·25	Year 60 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends as on no. 92 above; margin 	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 61 = ST (?) ; with pellet on l.; date  = SHST: Pl. XII. 6.
107	62 4·01	AR 1·35	Year 61 (A.H.) As above, but no small crescent over l. shoulder; ear-ring ; breast-ornament ; pellet in middle of neck; margin 	As above, but mint-signature no. 53 b = ST; date = AYUKISHST: Pl. XII. 7.
I. 40		AR	Year 62 (A.H.) As above.	As above, but date = DUSHST:
B. 18		AR 1·35	Zaranj Year 26 (=A.H. 58) Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends as on no. 92 above; margin :: ; countermarks nos. 14, 13, and 24 in first, second, and fourth quarters respectively [bottom l. of coin cut off and top notched].	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 57 b = ZR; date  = SHSHVIST: Pl. XII. 8.
ETN. 15		AR 1·3	Year 57 (A.H.) As above, but without countermarks and unbroken [worn].	As above, but date = HFTPNJ.A. Pl. XII. 10.

106. M. Paul Tinchant presented 1936.

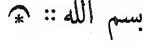
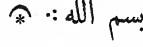
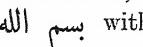
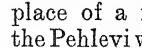
107. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

I. 40. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

B. 18. Kaiser Friedrich Museum (*Nützel*, no. 111, Pl. II).

ETN. 15. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
B. 19		R 1	<p style="text-align: center;">Uncertain Mint Year 63 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ; name-legend as on no. 92 above [margin almost cut off].</p>	<p>Usual fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 62 a = ZANKĀN (?); date = <u>SISEST</u>. <b>Pl. XII. 9.</b></p>
B. 20		R .95	<p style="text-align: center;">Year 60 (A.H.)</p> <p>As B. 19 above, but much worn, clipped, and pierced r. and l.</p>	<p>As B. 19 above, but pellet r. of mint-signature no. 62 a; date <del>SHST</del> = <u>SHST</u>. <b>Pl. XII. 11.</b></p>
B. 21		R	<p>As B. 19 above, but marginal legend clearly discernible</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>	<p>As B. 20 above, but mint-signature no. 62 b = a variety of the name ZANKĀN (?) above; date as above. <b>Pl. XXXIV. 10.</b></p>
STA. 2		R	<p style="text-align: center;">Abrashahr Year 60 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual type; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>	<p>Usual type; mint-signature no. 1 = APR; date <del>SHST</del> = <u>SHST</u>.</p>
B. 22	52.1 3.38	R 1.2	<p style="text-align: center;">Anonymous Mint Year 56 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legend as on no. 92 above; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>with what appears to be traces of a Pehlevi legend in the first quarter [margin somewhat corroded].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; but in place of a mint-signature the Pehlevi word  = AFZUT: 'may he increase'; date SHSHPNJA [edge corroded l.].</p>

B. 19. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 124, Pl. II).

B. 20. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 123).

B. 21. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 121).

STA. 2. Convent of St. Anne, Jerusalem.

B. 22. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 125).

**Pl. XIII. 1.**

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ETN. 16		$\text{AR}$ 1.1	<p>Year 57 (A.H.)</p> <p>As above, but additional pellet below ear-ring and no legend in first quarter [less defaced].</p>	<p>As above, but date = HFTP<small>NJA</small>.</p> <p>Pl. XIII. 2.</p>
<i>Bronze Coinage</i>				
Iṣṭakhr				
108	46.8 3.03	$\text{AE}$ 1.1	<p>Year 59? (A.H.)</p> <p>As above, only on smaller scale; margin</p> <p><math>\text{اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعٰالَمِينَ} = \text{AFD}</math> (i.e. 'Praise') instead of the usual <i>basmala</i>.</p>	<p>As above, but on smaller scale; mint-signature no. 53 = ST; date = NVP<small>NJA</small> (?).</p> <p>Pl. XIII. 3.</p>
(vii) 'Ubaidallāh				
Herāt				
Mar. 2			<p>Year 52?</p> <p>Markoff (<i>Monnaies Arsacides</i>, &amp;c., p. 129, no. 48) describes a coin of this year which he ascribes to the mint of ARN (?). As he does not illustrate it the mint-signature is open to question. I am inclined to deduce from the specimen in the Osman Arıdağ Collection to be described below (O. 7) that the mint is HRA. The other particulars furnished by Markoff are as follows:</p> <p>Usual bust; name-legends</p> <p><math>\text{اَبْيَادُ الدَّوْلَةِ} = \text{AUBITALA}</math></p> <p>with <math>\text{اللّٰهُ اَكْبَرُ}</math> 'Ubaidallāh below; margin <math>\text{سَمْوَاتُ الدُّجَى}</math></p>	<p>Usual altar and attendants; mint-signature (see above); date <math>\text{نَصْرُ الدُّجَى} = \text{DUPNJA}</math>.</p>

ETN. 16. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

108. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

Mar. 2. Institute of Oriental Languages, Leningrad.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
0. 7		AR 1.1	<p>Year 56 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual bust, but no crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends <u>سُلَيْمَان</u> = AUBITALA; margin <u>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ</u> [partly clipped].</p>	<p>Usual altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 24 = HRA; date <u>سَوْمَرْكَو</u> = SHSHPNJA.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XL. 7.</p>
109	62.5 4.05	AR 1.3	<p>(viii) Salm ibn Ziyād</p> <p><u>سَلْمَ بْنُ زَيْدٍ</u></p> <p>Abrashahr</p> <p>Year 63 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends <u>سَلْمَ</u> SLM I- <u>زِيَادَ</u> ZIYATAN</p> <p>margin: <u>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ</u></p> <p>countermarks nos. 44, 45, and 38 (?) in first, second, and fourth quarters respectively.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 3 = APRSHT; date <u>سَوْمَرْكَو</u> = SSHST.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XIII. 4.</p>
110	61 3.95	AR 1.35	<p>Year 64 (A.H.)</p> <p>As above, but name-legends more clearly written; countermarks nos. 51, 27, 34 (?), and 47 in first, second, third, and fourth quarters respectively.</p>	<p>As above, but small star r. and small crescent l. of flames; date <u>سَوْمَرْكَو</u> = JHRSHE(s)T: (sic).</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XIII. 5.</p>
111	62.6 4.06	AR 1.3	<p>As above, but crescent over l. shoulder; countermarks nos. 51, 14, and 47 in first, second, and fourth quarters respectively.</p>	<p>As above, but crescent and star as on no. 109; date <u>سَوْمَرْكَو</u> = JHRSHST.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XIII. 6.</p>

O. 7. Osman Arıdağ Collection, İstanbul.

109. Major Hay 1860.

110, 111. East India Company 1845.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
<b>Ardashir-Khurra</b>				
Year 26 (=A.H. 58)				
112	61.5 3.99	AR 1.3	As no. 110 above, but countermark no. 14 only over *	As no. 110 above, but mint-signature no. 9 = ART; date <del>SHSHVIST</del> = SHSHVIST. Pl. XIII. 7.
<b>Balkh</b>				
Year 67? or 37?				
113	53.4 3.46	AR 1.35	As no. 111 above; countermarks nos. 1 and 7 in third and fourth quarters respectively.	As no. 111 above, but mint-signature no. 14 = BLH; date <del>HFTSH(ST)</del> (sic) i.e. 67 (A.H.) or HFTSH (?). i.e. 37 (= A.H. 68?). Pl. XIII. 8.
Year ?				
B. 23	50.6 3.28	AR 1.25	As above, but no crescent on l. shoulder; margin * $\ddot{\text{ا}}\text{ل}$ ; countermark no. 21 in first quarter and countermarks nos. 3 (?) and ? in third and fourth quarters respectively.	As above, but small crescent l. and small star r. of flames respectively; date obscured somewhat <del>SHSHVIST</del> ? Pl. XIII. 9.
<b>Dārābjird</b>				
Year 26 (=A.H. 58)				
114	56.5 3.66	AR 1.35	As no. 113 above, but margin * $\ddot{\text{ا}}\text{ل}$ countermarks no. 14 over * and no. 39 in first quarter.	As no. 113, but mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date SHSHVIST: as on no. 112 above. Pl. XIII. 10.

112. India Office Collection presented 1882 (ex Masson Collection).

113. Eden Collection 1853.

B. 23. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 142).

114. East India Company 1845.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
T. 11			<p style="text-align: center;">Herat Year 26?</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and date is Thomas (<i>J.R.A.S.</i>, 1850, p. 294, no. 19) who states that the coin is in the British Museum. As there is no such example of this mint and date in the National Collection I can only surmise that Thomas misinterpreted the mint-signature on coin no. 114 above which is slightly double-struck. In support of this view is the fact that although coin no. 114 was already in the British Museum in 1845 there is no corresponding coin in Thomas.</p>	
			<p style="text-align: center;">Year 61</p> <p>See below year 69</p>	
115	62.6 4.06	R 1.35	<p style="text-align: center;">Year 67 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legend and margin as on no. 114 above; countermarks nos. 38 and 39 (?) in first quarter and no. 38 in third quarter.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 24 a = HRA; date <del>HF(T)SHST</del> = HF(T)SHST: (<i>sic</i>); margin *</p>
116	62.9 4.08	R 1.3	<p>As above, but countermark no. 14 over C and countermark no. 33 in third quarter.</p>	<p>As above, but date written thus: <del>HF(T)SHST</del> = HF(T)SHST: (<i>sic</i>). Pl. XIV. 2.</p>
117	61.3 3.97	R 1.3	<p>As above, but breast-ornament <del>ab</del>; countermarks nos. 18 and 46 in first quarter.</p>	<p>As above, but date written thus: <del>HF(T)SHST</del> = HF(T)SHST: (<i>sic</i>). Pl. XIV. 3.</p>
118	63.2 4.1	R 1.4	<p>As above, but breast-ornament blurred; countermarks nos. 52 and 14 in first and second quarters respectively.</p>	<p>As above, but date written thus: <del>HF(T)SHST</del> = HF(T)SHST: (<i>sic</i>). [small star l. of * obliterated by countermark on the obverse].</p>

115, 116. East India Company 1845.

117. India Office Collection presented 1882.

118. Eden Collection 1853.

UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

77

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
119	63.1 4.09	AR 1.35	As no. 115, but no small crescent over l. shoulder; countermarks nos. 51 and 14 overlapping in first quarter, and nos. 39 and 41 in third and fourth quarters respectively.	As no. 115, but date written thus: <i>IQSH SH</i> = HF(T)SH(S)T.  <b>Pl. XIV. 4.</b>
120	59.5 3.86	AR 1.35	As above, but countermarks nos. 39 and 29 in third and fourth quarters respectively.	As above, but date written thus: <i>IQSH SH</i> = HF(T)SH(S)T.
121	64 4.14	AR 1.3	As above, but no countermarks.	As no. 119, but date slightly double-struck.
P. 5	60.6 3.93	AR 1.35	<i>Year 69 (A.H.)</i> As no. 119, but countermark no. 14 on margin r.	As no. 115 above, but date NVSHST: for NVSHST: <b>Pl. XXXV. 1.</b>
Sistān				
122	56.6 3.67	AR 1.2	<i>Year 56 (A.H.)</i> As no. 115 above, but no countermarks, and margin * <i>W</i> <i>mu</i> .	As no. 115 above, but mint-signature no. 52 d=SK; date SHSHPNJA; no star in margin. <b>Pl. XIV. 6.</b>
Merv				
123	60.2 3.9	AR 1.3	<i>Year 62 (A.H.)</i> Usual Sassanian bust; small double crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends <i>SLM I-</i> <i>ZIYATAN</i> margin <i>W</i> <i>mu</i> : <i>W</i> <i>mu</i> countermarks no. 52 in first quarter and no. 14 over (*).	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 41 = MRW: date <i>TRINSH</i> = TRINSH(S)T: (sic).  <b>Pl. XIV. 5.</b>

119, 120. Eden Collection 1853.

121. Acquired before 1837. P. 5. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Lavoix*, no. 143).

122, 123. India Office Collection presented 1882.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Year 63 (A.H.)	
124	57.3 3.71	R 1.3	As no. 123 above, but small single crescent over l. shoulder; countermarks no. 40 in first quarter and no. 14 over *	As no. 123 above, but date <del>٦٣</del> (sic) = SSHST:  Pl. XIV. 7.
125	62.9 4.08	R 1.3	As above, but no crescent over l. shoulder; no countermarks.	As above, but date correctly written <del>٦٣</del> = SSHST: Pl. XIV. 8.
126	57.2 3.71	R 1.35	As above, but countermarks no. 39 in first and no. 6 in fourth quarters.	As above, but date written thus: <del>٦٣</del> = SSHST: small crescent l. and small star r. of flames respectively. Pl. XIV. 9.
127	61.6 3.99	R 1.3	As above, but countermarks nos. 14 and 39 in first and third quarters respectively.	As above, but date as on no. 125; small star l. and small crescent r. of flames.
128	63.3 4.1	R 1.3	As above, but countermarks nos. 51, 14, and 47 in first, second, and third quarters respectively.	As above.  Pl. XIV. 10.
129	63.5 4.11	R 1.35	As above, but countermarks nos. 15, 14, and 22 in first, second, and fourth quarters respectively.	As above, but date written as on no. 126.

124. Prinsep Collection 1847. See Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, pp. 90-1, no. 48).125. Eden Collection 1853. Cf. *Nützel*, nos. 129-32.

126. East India Company 1845.

127. Eden Collection 1853.

128. India Office Collection presented 1882.

129. Eden Collection 1853.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
130	38.1 2.47	AR 1.05	As above, but no countermarks [margin partly clipped].	As above.
131	26.1 1.69	AR .9	As above, but traces of countermark r. [margin completely cut off].	As above.
132	51.3 3.32	AR 1.3	As no. 126 above, but small cross over l. shoulder; countermark no. 7 in fourth quarter.	As no. 126 above.  Pl. XIV. 11.
133	62.5 4.05	AR 1.35	Year 64 (A.H.) As above, but small crescent instead of cross over l. shoulder; countermarks nos. 39 and 1 in second and third quarters respectively.	As above, but date JHRSHST:; small star l. and crescent r. of flames.  Pl. XIV. 12.
134	62.4 4.04	AR 1.4	As above, but no small crescent over l. shoulder; countermarks nos. 14, 39, and 39 in first, third, and fourth quarters respectively.	As above.
135	43.3 2.81	AR 1.15	As above, but countermark no. 46 on r. [margin clipped].	As above, but date written thus: ••••• = JHRSHST: (sic). Pl. XIV. 13.

131. East India Company 1845.

133. Cunningham Collection 1894.

135. India Office Collection presented 1882.

132. Eden Collection 1853.

134. East India Company 1845.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
B. 24	47.8 3.10	AR 1.3	As above, but crescent over l. shoulder; only one pellet visible after <b>ا</b> in margin; countermark no. 7 (?) in fourth quarter.  <i>Year 65 (A.H.)</i>	As above, but date truncated at end.  <b>Pl. XIV. 14.</b>
136	62.9 4.08	AR 1.35	As B. 24 above, but margin as on no. 123 though partly obscured by countermark no. 14; countermarks nos. 51 and 47 in first and fourth quarters respectively.	As B. 24 above, but date <b>PNJSHST</b> .  <b>Pl. XIV. 15.</b>
137	60.5 3.92	AR 1.25	As above, but no crescent over l. shoulder; countermarks nos. 51, 33, and 47 in first, third, and fourth quarters respectively.  <i>Year 66 (A.H.)</i>	As above; date partly indistinct through double-striking.  <b>Pl. XV. 1.</b>
T. 12			The sole authority for this mint and date is Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1850, p. 294 = Mordtmann, <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1854, p. 159, no. 797). The coin was in the Masson Collection, but I have been unable to trace it amongst any of the coins known to me from that Collection.	
B. 25	49.7 3.22	AR 1.35	As no. 137 above, but crescent over l. shoulder; marginal legend partly obscured by overlapping countermarks, several more of which are stamped on the first and fourth quarters.  <i>Year 67? (A.H.)</i>	As no. 137 above, but date <b>///w Pow=HFTSH(ST) (?)</b> .  <b>Pl. XV. 2.</b>

B. 24. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 133).

137. Eden Collection 1853.

B. 25. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 134, Pl. II).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
138	57.7 3.74	AR 1.35	<p>Year 68? (A.H.)</p> <p>As no. 137 above, but margin سُمِّ اللَّهُ عَزَّوَجْدَهُ (sic); countermark no. 26 in first quarter.</p>	<p>As no. 137 above, but date partly indistinct (through double-striking) هـ ١٣٧٦(s)T:; margin *) .*) (* ٢٦. all within additional outer circle.</p>
139	61.5 3.99	AR 1.35	<p>Year 69 (A.H.)</p> <p>As above, but margin as on no. 123; countermarks nos. 51, 39, and 47 in first, third, and fourth quarters respectively.</p>	<p>As no. 137 above, but date هـ ١٣٧٧ = NVHSHST: pellet l. of mint-signature; margin: pellet l. of *, the other pellet on r. being no doubt obliterated (cf. reverse of no. 141 below).</p>
140	62.9 4.08	AR 1.35	As above, but countermarks nos. 51 and 14 on right and no. 47 in fourth quarter.	As above, but margin obliterated at top except for pellet r. of *
141	63.1 4.09	AR 1.35	As above; countermarks nos. 39 and 47 in third quarter and no. 51 in first quarter.	As above, but * clearly visible, and date somewhat blurred by double-striking.
142	55.5 3.6	AR 1.35	As above, but margin سُمِّ اللَّهُ عَزَّوَجْدَهُ; countermark no. 14 over *	<p>As above; mint as on no. 137 above; date clearly written.</p>
143	52.5 3.4	AR 1.35	<p>Year 70? (A.H.)</p> <p>As above, but small crescent over l. shoulder and breast-ornament *; margin as on no. 141; countermark no. 7 in fourth quarter.</p>	<p>As above, but date هـ ١٣٧٩ ? = HFTAT: no pellets in margin, but instead ⚪ below (*)</p>

138. India Office Collection presented 1882.

140. India Office Collection presented 1882.

142. Eden Collection 1853.

143. India Office Collection presented 1882. See note to B. 25 above.

139. East India Company 1845.

141. East India Company 1845.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
144	49.2 3.19	AR 1.3	<i>Uncertain Date</i> As above, but without crescent over l. shoulder; countermarks nos. 16 and 7 (?) in first and fourth quarters respectively.	As above, but without any pellets or letters in the margin; date almost obliterated.
145	64.2 4.16	AR 1.3	<i>Merv al-Rūdh</i> <i>Year 63 (A.H.)</i> Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legend as on no. 123 above; margin $\cap \text{All} \text{ سه}$ ; countermarks nos. 6 and 14 r. and no. 39 in fourth quarter.	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-name no. 42 = MRWRUT; date $\text{س} \text{ه} \text{س} \text{ه}$ = SSHST:  <b>Pl. XV. 7.</b>
146	36 2.33	AR 1.1	As above, but countermark no. 7 (?) in fourth quarter [margin clipped at bottom]; margin apparently was as on no. 123 above.	As above, but $\star$ over mint-name; three pellets in line below date; small star r. and small crescent l. of flames.  <b>Pl. XV. 8.</b>
147	61.5 3.99	AR 1.35	As above, but no crescent over l. shoulder; margin clearly visible as on no. 123 above; countermarks nos. 14 and 29 in first and fourth quarters, and no. 39 below, partly over $\cap$ .	As no. 145 above, but epigraphy of date different.  <b>Pl. XV. 9.</b>
C. 6	56.0 3.63	AR 1.3	<i>Year 63? (A.H.)</i> As above, but pellet over l. shoulder in place of double crescent; <i>no Arabic legend in the margin</i> ; countermark no. 21 in first and second quarters; countermark no. 3 in fourth and uncertain countermark in second quarter.	As above, but date $\text{س} \text{ه} \text{س} \text{ه}$ = TLTSH(ST) (sic).  <b>Pl. XXXV. 2.</b>

144. East India Company 1845.

147. Cunningham Collection 1894.

C. 6. National Museum, Copenhagen (*Østrup*, no. 66).

145. India Office Collection presented 1882.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
B. 26	56.3 3.65	R 1.3	Year 64 (A.H.) As no. 145 above, but margin .*: *: <b>الى</b> س partly obliterated at beginning by countermark no. 14; countermark no. 39 in first quarter.	As no. 145 above, but date <b>١٤٥ = ج (HR) SHST:</b> mint-name indistinct at end.  Pl. XV. 10.
T. 13			Year 67 (A.H.) The chief authority for this mint and date is Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1850, p. 294, no. 17 b). I suspect that some, if not all, of the examples he quotes may be of the year 70 (see below nos. 148, 149, and cf. no. 115 and B. 25 above). The same may probably be said of the two examples mentioned in the Johnston Sale Catalogue ( <i>Sotheby</i> , July, 1906, lot 131).	
148	58.4 3.78	R 1.25	Year 70 (A.H.) As no. 147 above, but small crescent over l. shoulder; countermarks no. 14 over (*) and no. 28 in first quarter.	As no. 147 above, but date <b>١٤٧ = HFTAT:</b> margin .*: as on no. 141 above.  Pl. XV. 11.
149	55.4 3.59	R 1.3	As above, but no crescent over l. shoulder; countermark no. 14 four times on r. side of margin; pellet visible above (*)	As above.
Uncertain Mints				
150	53.7 3.48	R 1.3	Year 63 (A.H.) As no. 149 above, but additional (Ephthalite ?) legend in third quarter: <b>ك</b> (?); no pellet over (*) ; countermark no. 12, Bactrian camel, in first quarter.	As no. 149 above, but mint-name no. 46 = <b>PALHAN</b> (?); date <b>١٤٩ = SSH(S)T:</b> margin .*:.  Pl. XV. 12.

B. 26. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 135).

148. India Office Collection presented 1882.

149. Eden Collection 1853. Cf. T. 13 above.

150. India Office Collection presented 1882.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Ox. 4	61.7 4.00	AR 1.3	<p><i>Year 64 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust with name-legends as on no. 150 above; small circle over l. shoulder; margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; in the place of the mint-signature سهـ which might be interpreted as SHFTAT (73) [Cf. coin of Umayya ibn 'Abdallāh, below no. 212, p. 107]; date</p> <p style="text-align: center;">جـ هـ = جـ هـ</p> <p>no additional pellets in margin.</p>
151	61.3 3.97	AR 1.25	<p><i>Year 52 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ APDRMAN I-ZITAN (<i>sic</i>)</p> <p>margin بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ countermark no. 3 in fourth quarter; pellet over * partly merged in the countermark.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 60 a = BJ (?); date DUPNJA [fourth quarter scored].</p>
Dam. 5		AR 1.2	<p><i>Year 53 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As above, but no countermark or additional pellet in margin.</p>	<p>As above, but date SPNJA.</p>

Ox. 4. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

151. India Office Collection presented 1882.

Dam. 5. Arab Museum, Damascus.

Pl. XXXV. 3.

(ix) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād  
 عبد الرحمن بن زيد

Uncertain Mint

Pl. XV. 13.

Pl. XXXV. 4.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
T. 14			Dārābjird Year 54?	The sole authority for this mint is Thomas ( <i>Prinsep's Essays</i> , i, p. 65) who, I suspect, is mistaken.
152	57.5 3.73	AR 1.25	Birāmḳobādh Year 54 (A.H.) As no. 151 above, but crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends clearer; the marginal legend has been erased; from what remains it appears to have been <b>الله الحمد</b> [To Allah be the praise!] rather than as on no. 151 above; no counter-mark or additional pellet in margin.	As above, but mint-signature no. 15 = BRM; date ĪHRPNJA.  Pl. XV. 14.
153	63.3 4.10	AR 1.2	Nahr-Tirā Year 54 (A.H.) As no. 152 above, but no crescent over l. shoulder; margin as on no. 151 above.	As no. 152 above, but mint-signature no. 44 = NHR. Pl. XVI. 1.
Dam. 6		AR 1.25	Arrajān Year 54 (A.H.) As above.	As above, but mint-signature no. 8 = ARJN; date ĪHRP(N)JA. Pl. XXXV. 5.

152. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

153. M. Paul Tinchant presented 1936.

Dam. 6. Arab Museum, Damascus. See Mint Notes.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Dam. 7	<i>AR</i> 1.2		<p>(x) al-Hakam ibn Abi 'l-'Āṣ          (الحَكَمُ بْنُ أَبِي الْعَاصِ)  <u>Birām kōbādh</u>  <i>Year 58 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust ;          name-legend          هَكَمْ I-  <u>أَبُو الْعَاصِ</u> ABULAJAN          margin</p> <p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ *          [i.e. In the name of Allah          Lord of Judgement (HUKM)          or of al-Hakam] ; pellet l.          of winged crown in margin.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar          and attendants ; mint-          signature no. 15 <i>a</i> = BRM ;          date <u>HSHTPNJA</u>.</p> <p><b>Pl. XXXV. 6.</b></p>
ETN. 17	<i>AR</i> 1.05			<p>Nahr-Tīrā  <i>Year 56 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As above [but margin          somewhat trimmed] ; no          pellet l. of crown.</p>
J. 4	56.5 3.66	<i>AR</i> 1.2	<p>As above, but بِسْمِ missing          in margin in first quarter.</p>	<p>As above, but date written          defectively <u>SHSHP(N)JA</u>.</p>
Ties. 2			<p>Fil ?  <i>Year 53 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>The coin in the Gagarine Collection attributed to this          mint and date by Tiesenhausen (no. 116, Pl. I, no. 11)          is really of the year 56 (q.v.). The same applies to the          specimen in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (<i>Nützel</i>,          no. 100).</p>	

Dam. 7. Arab Museum, Damascus.

ETN. 17. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

J. 4. Jena Cabinet (Stickel, *Handbuch*, ii (1870), pp. 88-9, Pl. no. 44).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ETN. 18		AR 1.2	Year 56 (A.H.) As ETN. 17 above, but margin بسم الله رب الحكم *	As ETN. 17 above, but mint-signature no. 47 = PIL; date ~١٠٥٦ = SH(SH)PNJA ( <i>sic</i> ); pellet above * Pl. XVI. 3.
ETN. 19		AR 1.25	As above, but pellet over l. shoulder below name-legends; margin * بسم الله رب الحكم	As above; no pellet in margin. Pl. XVI. 4.
M. 46			Year 57 (A.H.) The sole authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1879, p. 100, no. 79). Apparently the marginal legend was as on Dam. 7 above. Unfortunately the coin was not illustrated.	
B. 27	57.2 3.71	AR 1.2	Arrajān Year 56 (A.H.) As Dam. 7 above, but no pellet in margin l. of crown [margin holed over <u>All</u> on r.]	As Dam. 7 above, but mint-signature no. 8 = ARJN; date ~١٠٥٦ = SH(SH)PNJA ( <i>sic</i> ). Pl. XXXV. 7.
B. 28	50.0 3.24	AR 1.15	(xi) 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim (عبد الله بن خازم) †A.H. 72 = A.D. 691 Abrashahr Year 65 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder: name-legends APDULA I-HZMAN margin بسم الله	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 3 = APRSHT; date PNJSHT. Pl. XVI. 5.

ETN. 18, 19. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

B. 27. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 99, Pl. II).B. 28. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 154).

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Year 67 (A.H.)	
154	62 4.01	AR 1.35	As above, but no star l. of crown.	As above, but date $\text{HFTSHST}$ = HFTSHST: (sic). Pl. XVI. 6.
155	62.9 4.08	AR 1.35	As B. 28 above, but small crescent over l. shoulder; countermark no. 14 over (*)	As above, but date written thus: $\text{HFTSHST}$ = HFTSH(s)T:
B. 29		AR 1	Year 68 (A.H.)	
			As no. 155 above; countermark in field top r. [margin completely cut off].	As no. 155 above, but date $\text{HFTSHST}$ = HFTSH(s)T: Pl. XVI. 7.
			Year 69 (A.H.)	
156	62 4.01	AR 1.35	As no. 154 above, but small star as usual l. of crown; pellet l. and r. of winged head-dress in margin; countermarks no. 39 in first quarter and no. 14 over (*)	As above, but mint-signature no. 3a and date = NVSHST: Pl. XVI. 8.
157	61.7 4.0	AR 1.3	As above, but without countermarks.	As above.
			Balkh	
			Year 67 (A.H.)	
158	62 4.01	AR 1.3	As no. 154 above, but small star as usual l. of crown; countermarks no. 49 in first quarter and nos. 37 and 39 together in second quarter.	As no. 154 above, but mint-signature no. 14 = BLH; date HFTSHST: Pl. XVI. 9.

154, 155. India Office Collection presented 1882.

B. 29. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 155).

156, 157, 158. India Office Collection presented 1882.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
159	61.3 3.97	AR 1.35	As above, but small crescent over l. shoulder and no countermarks.	As above, but date written thus: <del>11111111</del> (sic).
160	53.5 3.47	AR 1.35	As above, but countermarks nos. 21 and 39 in first and third quarters respectively.	As above, but date written thus: <del>11111111</del> (sic).
161	53.6 34.7	AR 1.3	As above, but <del>11111111</del> missing from margin; countermarks nos. 21 and 20 in first and fourth quarters respectively.	As above, but date written thus: <del>11111111</del> ; margin: pellet in middle of first quarter.
162	52.3 3.39	AR 1.3	As above, but countermarks no. 21 in first quarter and no. 23 in second and fourth quarters.	As above.
Pl. XVI. 10.				
Year 68 (A.H.)				
163	61.7 4.0	AR 1.25	As no. 158 above, but small crescent over l. shoulder; no countermarks.	As no. 158 above; date <del>11111111</del> (sic) = <u>HSETSHST</u> . Pl. XVII. 1.
164	61 3.95	AR 1.3	As above, but countermarks nos. 32 and 14 in first and second quarters respectively.	As above, but date written thus: <del>11111111</del> (sic).
165	61.2 3.97	AR 1.35	As above, but countermark no. 14 only in second quarter.	As above, but date correctly written thus: <del>11111111</del>

159. India Office Collection presented 1882.

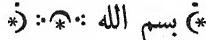
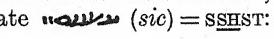
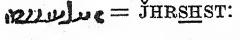
160. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

161. East India Company 1845. Cf. Nützel, no. 157, Pl. II.

162. Eden Collection 1853.

163. East India Company 1845. 164. India Office Collection presented 1882.

165. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Sch. 3			Dārābjird	
			In the White King Sale ( <i>Schulman</i> , June, 1905, no. 2055) there is a coin of this mint of the year 41 ascribed to this governor. I have no hesitation in declaring this a palpable error; the coin in question must have been one of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir (cf. coin no. 70 above, p. 48).	
166	56.5 3.66	AR 1.3	<u>Khurāsān?</u> <i>Year 63 (A.H.)</i>	
			As B. 28 above, but small crescent over l. shoulder; countermarks nos. 14 and 39 together completely obliterating (*)	As B. 28 above, but mint-signature no. 25 b = HURA(?); date  = TLTSHST; margin .•• (?) [though only one pellet on l. is visible owing to the impression of the countermarks on the obverse].
167	57.4 3.72	AR 1.4	<u>Merv</u> <i>Year 63 (A.H.)</i>	
			Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends as on B. 28 above; margin 	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 41 b = MRW; date  (sic) = SSHST.
ANS. 12		AR 1.2	<i>Year 64 (A.H.)</i>	
			As above, but name-legends more clearly written; no countermarks; margin as on B. 28 above.	As above, but date  = JHRSHST:

166. India Office Collection presented 1882.

167. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

ANS. 12. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

Pl. XVII. 6.

Pl. XVII. 4.

Pl. XVII. 3.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ANS. 13		AR 1·35	As above, but margin وَاللهُ أَكْبَرُ countermarks nos. 14 and 39 in second and third quarters respectively.	As above, but date written thus: <del>سَعْدَ الْمُؤْمِنِ</del>
			Year 65 (A.H.)	Pl. XVII. 5.
168	62·6 4·06	AR 1·3	As above, but margin as on ANS. 12 above; coun- termarks nos. 14 and 39 in first and second quarters respectively [clipped at bottom].	As above, but date <u>PNJSHST</u> :
				Pl. XVII. 8.
169	61·9 4·01	AR 1·3	As above, but name-legends faint in second line; mar- gin as on no. 167 above; countermark no. 39 in first quarter.	As above, but end of date partly effaced.
				Pl. XVII. 7.
			Year 66 (A.H.)	
170	61·4 3·98	AR 1·35	As no. 168 above, but countermarks nos. 51, 41, and 27 in first, third, and fourth quarters respec- tively.	As above, but date <u>SHSHSHST</u> :
				Pl. XVII. 9.
171	60·7 3·93	AR 1·4	As above, but countermark no. 14 in first quarter.	As above, but date <del>سَعْدَ الْمُؤْمِنِ</del> = <u>SHSHSH</u> (S)T:
172	60·6 3·93	AR 1·3	As above, but in addition countermarks nos. 29 and 6 in third and fourth quar- ters respectively.	As above.

ANS. 13. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

168. India Office Collection presented 1882. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 159.

169. India Office Collection presented 1882.

170. India Office Collection presented 1882. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 160, and Stickel (*Handbuch*,  
ii, p. 99, no. 51).

171. Prinsep Collection 1847.

172. Eden Collection 1853.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<i>Year 67 (A.H.)</i>	
173	61 3.95	<i>R</i> 1.3	As above, but countermarks nos. ? and 7 in third and fourth quarters respectively.	As above, but date <u>HFTSHST:</u> [fourth quarter scored in margin]. <b>Pl. XVII. 10.</b>
174	53.9 3.49	<i>R</i> 1.35	As above, but countermark no. 32 in first quarter with uncertain countermark on top.	As above, but date written defectively <del>.....</del> = HF(T) <u>SHST:</u> (?).
B. 30	60.8 3.94	<i>R</i>	As above.	As above, but date written thus: <del>.....</del> = HF(T) <u>SH(S)T:</u> margin .•.
T. 15			<i>Year 68 (A.H.)</i>	The sole authority for this mint and date is Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1850, p. 300, no. 25 c). This coin, which if correctly read would be unique, was in the General Fox Collection which ultimately went to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, but there is no coin with such date recorded in Nützel's <i>Catalogue</i> . Thomas may have misinterpreted the date.
			<i>Year 69 (A.H.)</i>	
175	59.2 3.84	<i>R</i> 1.35	As no. 174 above, but countermark no. 14 in first quarter.	As no. 174 above, but date <u>NVHSHST:</u> ; margin .•. as on B. 30 above. <b>Pl. XVII. 11.</b>
176	58.7 3.80	<i>R</i> 1.35	As above, but countermarks nos. 49 and 39 in first and fourth quarters respectively.	As above.

173. India Office Collection presented 1882.

B. 30. Kaiser Friedrich Museum (*Nützel*, no. 161).

175. Prinsep Collection 1847.

176. Mrs. Jacomb (ex. Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

174. Eden Collection 1853.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
177	66.6 4.32	AR 1.4	As above, but countermark no. 14 over (*) and countermarks nos. 33 and 39 in third and fourth quarters respectively.	As above, but date written thus: <del>177</del>
178	62.7 4.06	AR 1.35	As above, but countermarks no. 37 in first quarter and no. 14 over (*)	As above, but date written thus: <del>178</del>
179	60.2 3.90	AR 1.35	As above, but countermarks nos. 15 and 14 in third and fourth quarters respectively.	As no. 177 above.  Pl. XVII. 12.
180	51.1 3.31	AR 1.3	As above, but without countermarks.	As above.
181	62 4.01	AR 1.45	As above, but countermarks nos. 39 and 6 in first and fourth quarters respectively and no. 14 over (*)	As above.
182	62 4.01	AR 1.35	As above, but countermark no. 14 over (*) only.	As no. 178 above.
183	61.7 4.00	AR 1.3	As above, but without countermarks [double-struck].	As above.
184	62.1 4.02	AR 1.35	As above, but countermark no. 33 in third quarter.	As above.

177. East India Company 1845.

179. Prinsep Collection 1847.

183. Eden Collection 1853.

184. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

178. Eden Collection 1853.

180, 181. Eden Collection 1853.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<i>Year 70 (A.H.)</i>	
185	61.9 4.01	AR 1.35	As above, but countermark no. 21 in first quarter.	As above, but date HFTAT: <b>Pl. XVII. 13.</b>
186	60.6 3.93	AR 1.4	As above, but countermarks nos. 14 and 39 in first quarter.	As above, but date defec-tively written $\omega\omega\omega$ ( <i>sic</i> ).
			<i>Year 72 (A.H.)</i>	
187	60.8 3.94	AR 1.35	As no. 186 above, but countermarks nos. 29 and 14 in first quarter over-lapping.	As no. 186 above, but date DUHFTAT: <b>Pl. XVII. 14.</b>
188	57.9 3.75	AR 1.3	As above, but countermark no. 14 over (*; Kufic legend in margin partly obliterated.	As above, but date written thus: $\omega\omega\omega = DUHFT(A)T$ ( <i>sic</i> ).
			<i>Year 73 (A.H.)</i>	
B. 31	62.8 4.07	AR 1.35	As above, but countermarks no. 14 over (*, no. ? below ?, and no. 39 in fourth quarter.	As above, but date SHFTAT: <b>Pl. XVII. 15.</b>
			<i>Merv al-Rūdh</i>	
			<i>Year 69 (A.H.)</i>	
189	62.7 4.06	AR 1.35	As no. 187 above, but countermarks nos. 51, 47, and 39 in first, third, and fourth quarters respec-tively.	As no. 187 above, but mint-signature no. 42 c = MRWRU; date $\omega\omega\omega$ ( <i>sic</i> ) for NVHSHST; no pellets in margin. <b>Pl. XVII. 16.</b>

185. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 165.

186. India Office Collection presented 1882.

187. Eden Collection 1853. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 166, Pl. II.

188. India Office Collection presented 1882.

B. 31. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 167).

189. India Office Collection presented 1882.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
190	61.5 3.99	AR 1.35	As above, but counter-marks nos. 53 and 19 in first and fourth quarters respectively.	As above, but date <u>سنه</u> = NVHSHS(T); margin .• as on no. 184. <b>Pl. XVIII. 1.</b>
M. 47			Zaranj Year 64 (A.H.)	The sole authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 101, no. 80). The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. The only other detail given by Mordtmann is that the margin was بسم الله . Unfortunately the coin was not reproduced.
			(xii) Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh (ibn Khāzim) محمد بن عبد الله بن خازم	Herāt
Ox. 5	59.9 3.88	AR 1.35	Year 67 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends margin بسم الله	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 24 b = HRA; date <u>نه</u> (sic) = HF(T)SH(S)T: <b>Pl. XXXV. 8.</b>
			(xiii) Talha ibn 'Abdallāh طلحة بن عبد الله	Sistān
191	61.5 3.99	AR 1.3	Year 64 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends margin طلحة لله	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 52 c = sk; date <u>نه</u> (sic) for JHARSHST. <b>Pl. XVIII. 2.</b>

190. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

Ox. 5. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (ex Bardoe Elliot Collection).

191. L. A. Lawrence, Esq. presented 1933.

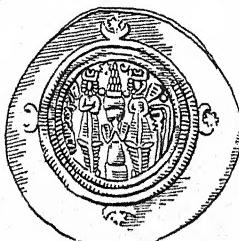
No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Th. 11	61.2 3.97	AR 1.3	As above.  Year 66? (A.H.)	As above, but date written thus: <del>year</del> Pl. XXXV. 9.
Mart. 1		AR 1.25	As above, but breast-ornament ☺; countermark no. 35 in first quarter.	As above, but date <del>year</del> (sic) for SHSHST:(?). Pl. XXXV. 10.
Sch. 4			(xiv) 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir عبد العزيز بن عبد الله بن عامر Year 74? (A.H.)	Ardashir-Khurra  In the Strauss Sale Catalogue ( <i>Schulman</i> , Jan., 1913, no. 1012) there is a record of a coin of this date and mint-signature, though the latter is read as ANT or HUT. As the coin is not reproduced it is impossible to be certain of the accuracy of the interpretation.
192	60.9 3.95	AR 1.3	Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends   APDULAJI: I- APDULA I-AMIRAN margin بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم countermarks no. 14 over (*) and no. 42 in fourth quarter.	Sistān Year 66 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 52 d = sk, date SHSHSHST.  Pl. XVIII. 3.
Cam. 7	63.0 4.08	AR	As above, but first line of name-legends more clearly written; margin بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم : no countermarks.	As above, but date written defectively thus: <del>year</del>

Th. 11. Philip Thorburn Collection, London = *Num. Chron.*, 1934, p. 290, Pl. IX, 3.

Mart. 1. Major M. F. C. Martin Collection, London = *Num. Chron.*, 1934, p. 291, Pl. IX, 5

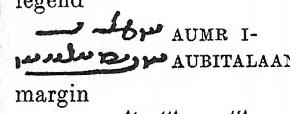
192. Prinsep Collection 1847.

Cam. 7. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Ox. 6	62.5 4.05	AR 1.3	As above, but four pellets at end of legend in third quarter; counterman mark no. 14 in second quarter.	As above.  Pl. XXXVI. 1.
B. 32	52.7 3.41	AR 1.1	As above, but name-legend APDLAJI <small>Y</small> (?) I-APDULAAN margin * الله بسم [clipped].	As above, but mint-signature no. 54a = TART (?); date AYUHFTAT.  Pl. XVIII. 4.
Sch. 5	(Fig. 4)	AR 1.3	(xv) 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abdallâh عبد الملك بن عبد الله Bishāpūr Year 66 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament *; name-legend APDLMLIK I- APDULAAN margin بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم محمد رسول الله Year 66 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint; signature no. 12b = BISH; date SHSHSHST:	  FIG. 4.

Ox. 6. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

B. 32. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 183, Pl. III).Sch. 5. This rare coin was in the Strauss Collection Sale (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, no. 1005, Pl. V). Fortunately both sides were illustrated and are reproduced here.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
193	63 4.08	AR 1.35	<p>(xvi) 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh (ibn Mi'mar)          عمر بن عبد الله بن معاذ          †A.H. 73 = A.D. 692</p> <p>Ardashir-Khurra          Year 68 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; ear-ring ; breast-ornament ; name-legends</p> <p style="text-align: center;">           AUMR I-          AUBITALAAN          margin          ﴿ * : الله الحمد . (للـلـه ) for          اللـلـه ( )       </p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature (with pellet on l.) no. 9 = ART; date HSHTSHST:</p> <p>Pl. XVIII. 5.</p>
B. 33	64.3 4.17	AR 1.25	<p>Year 69 (A.H.)</p> <p>As above, but margin .*) .*) :: الله الحمد . (*) .*) (All correctly written).</p>	<p>As above, but date NVSHST:          pellet l. and r. of mint-signature.</p>
ANS. 14		AR 1	<p>As above [but margin clipped so that it is impossible to be sure of all the pellets].</p>	<p>As above, but date NAVSHST:          NVSHST = NAVSHST:</p> <p>Pl. XVIII. 6.</p>
Cam. 8		AR	<p>As no. 193 above, but small crescent over l. shoulder, and اللـلـه ( ) correctly written in margin.</p>	<p>As no. 193 above, but date as on ANS. 14.</p>

193. Marsden Collection presented 1834.

B. 33. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 169, Pl. II).

ANS. 14. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

ANS. 14. American Numismatic Society  
Cam. 8. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Cam. 9		AR 1.25	Year 70 (A.H.) As Cam. 8 above, but no crescent over l. shoulder; countermark no. 14 partly over (*)	As B. 33 above, but date <del>د</del> <del>ه</del> <del>ت</del> <del>ط</del> = HFTAT; pellet r. of date. Pl. XXXVI. 2.
B. 34	60.6 3.93	AR 1.35	As above.	As above, but with two pellets both on l. of mint-signature; date written thus: <del>د</del> <del>ه</del> <del>ت</del> <del>ط</del> = HFTAT.
194	60.2 3.9	AR 1.3	Year 67 (A.H.) As no. 193 above, but ear-ring ..; countermarks nos. 29 in first and 39 in second quarter, the latter partly obliterating the Kufic legend [break in die in third quarter].	Bishāpūr As no. 193 above, but mint-signature no. 12 = BISH (with pellet on r.); date HFTSHST: [margin damaged in fourth quarter]. Pl. XVIII. 8.
195	61 3.95	AR 1.3	Year 68 (A.H.) As above, but ear-ring as on no. 193; no countermarks; all of marginal legend correctly written as on B. 33 above.	As above; date HSHTSHST: small crescent l. and small star r. of flames. Pl. XVIII. 7.
196	59.9 3.88	AR 1.25	As no. 194 above, but countermarks no. 29 in first quarter and no. 14 over (*) and beginning of Kufic legend in margin.	As above; date written thus: <del>د</del> <del>ه</del> <del>ت</del> <del>ط</del> ; small star l. and small crescent r. of flames as usual.

Cam. 9. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which also possesses two other specimens of this mint and date, one of which has small star r. and small crescent l. of flames on the reverse.

B. 34. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 170).

194. Eden Collection 1853 (cf. *Nützel*, no. 172).

195. J. R. Steuart Collection 1846.

196. Eden Collection 1853.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<i>Year 69 (A.H.)</i>	
197	58.7 3.8	AR 1.25	As no. 193 above, but pellet over l. shoulder; margin <i>* لله الحمد :: *</i>	As no. 194 above, but date <del>ن</del> <sup>ن</sup> = NUHSHST; margin * the pellet on r. side being cut off by clipping the margin.
			<i>Year 70 (A.H.)</i>	Pl. XVIII. 9.
198	59.1 3.83	AR 1.25	As above, but no pellet over l. shoulder; margin <i>* لله الحمد :: *</i> countermark no. 14 in first quarter.	As above, but date HFTAT; no pellets in margin.
199	62.7 4.06	AR 1.25	As above, but countermarks no. 14 over (*) and no. 7 in fourth quarter.	As above.
200	59.2 3.84	AR 1.25	As above; countermark no. 14 partly over (*)	As above.
201	60.8 3.94	AR 1.25	As above; countermark no. 14 over (*)	As above, but small crescent on both sides of fire.
				Pl. XVIII. 10.
			<i>Year 72</i>	
I. 41			The coin attributed to this mint and date in the Istanbul Museum Catalogue (no. 18) is really dated 69.	

197. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

198. East India Company 1845. Cf. *Lavoix*, no. 145, and *Nützel*, nos. 176-9.

199. East India Company 1845.

200. Cunningham Collection 1894.

201. India Office Collection presented 1882.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
T. 16			Baṣra <i>Year 65 (A.H.)</i>	The sole authority for this mint and date is Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1852, p. 409, no. 2; Mordtmann, <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1854, p. 190, no. 48), but he did not reproduce it. The coin was in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is not, however, in V. A. Smith's Catalogue of this Collection.
202	62.8 4.07	AR 1.25	Kirmān <i>Year 65 (A.H.)</i>	Usual Sassanian bust ; small crescent over l. shoulder ; name-legend as on no. 193 above ; margin *) * — * اللَّهُ بِسْمِ
203	62.7 4.06	AR 1.2	As above ; no crescent over l. shoulder ; margin * اللَّهُ بِسْمِ countermark no. 14 in first quarter and again over (*)	As usual fire-altar and attendants ; mint-signature no. 28 = KRMAN ; date PNJSHST: Pl. XVIII. 11.
Cam. 10	48.7 3.16	AR 1.1	Iṣṭakhr <i>Year 69 (A.H.)</i>	As no. 202 above, but earring * and breast-ornament * ; margin *) * اللَّهُ بِحَمْدٍ :: (*)
204	56.6 3.67	AR 1.15	<i>Year 70 (A.H.)</i>	As no. 202 above, but mint-signature (with pellet l.) no. 53 = ST ; date NAVSHST : margin in first quarter — .
				Pl. XXXVI. 3.
				As above, but date HFTAT : Pl. XIX. 2.

202. M. Paul Tinchant presented 1936. 203. East India Company Collection 1845.

Cam. 10. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

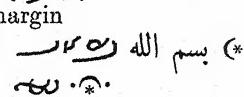
204. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
205	61.8 4.0	AR 1.2	As no. 202 above, but margin partly in Pehlevi and partly in Kufic: $\text{الحمد لله} \text{ * } \text{سَبَّابِي}$	As above, but no marginal letter or pellet. <b>Pl. XIX. 1.</b>
Sch. 6			Year 71?	In the Lord Grantley Collection Sale ( <i>Schulman</i> , Dec., 1921, no. 2124) there is a coin described, but unfortunately not illustrated, said to be of this mint and probable date. If so, it is a unique specimen.
B. 35		AR 1.1	Year 69 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; name-legends as on no. 193 above; breast-ornament $\Theta$ ; pellet over l. shoulder; margin $\text{الحمد لله} \text{ * }$ [coin has been broken into pieces].	Uncertain Mint Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 45 a = NIH (?); date NVHSHST: <b>Pl. XXXVI. 4.</b>
I. 42		AR	(xvii) Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubair $\text{صَعْبُ بْنُ الْزُّبَيْرِ}$ †A.H. 72 = A.D. 691 Baṣra Year 66? (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends in Pehlevi: $\text{مُعَاذْبُ إِبْنُ الْزُّبَيْرِ}$ margin in Kufic $\text{الله} \text{ * } \text{صَعْبُ} \text{ * } \text{الله}$ (i.e. Muṣ'ab, Allah is his sufficiency!).	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 13 = BJRA; date <i>reverse</i> for SHSHSHST:

205. Count de Salis presented 1862.

B. 35. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 181).

I. 42. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
M. 48			<p style="text-align: center;">Uncertain Mint Year 68 (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint-signature (no. 16) and date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 103, no. 87). The obverse margin is described as follows: 'In second quarter :: <b>بسم الله</b>; in third quarter <b>مصب</b>'. It was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Unfortunately it was not illustrated. I have recently come across in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions) a coin with this variety of margin but with mint-signature no. 23 which looks like a fuller form of the above. This coin is described below under the mint Dast-i-Maisān (<i>q.v.</i>). On the other hand the above mint-signature may be a bungled form of <b>بجرا</b>. See above I. 42 and cf. the coins of 'Ubai-dallāh ibn Ziyād, p. 61 above.</p>	
206	56.8 3.68	AR 1.2	<p style="text-align: center;">Kirmān Year 69 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends  <b>overb MUJAP</b>  <b>س ع ز ب ر ا ن</b> I-ZUPIRAN  margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">   [holed in first and third quarters]. </p>	<p>Usual Sassanian altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 33 = <b>KRMANAN:</b>; date <b>NVSHST:</b></p>
Th. 12	60.3 3.91	AR 1.2	<p>As above, but without <b>س</b> in third quarter; countermark no. 48 in fourth quarter [notholed].</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XIX. 3.</p> <p>As above.</p>
M. 49			<p style="text-align: center;">Year 70 (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 103, no. 90). The margin was apparently as on no. 206, but with the addition of <b>س</b> in first quarter. It was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Unfortunately it was never illustrated.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXVI. 5.</p>

206. Lt. Col. C. Jackson (ex Col. Miles Collection) 1933. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 182.

Th. 12. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

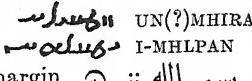
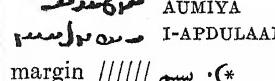
## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<i>Year 71 (A.H.)</i> As no. 206 above, but ♀ instead of ♂ [not holed].	As no. 206 above, but mint-signature no. 34 = KRMANNHR (?) ; date <i>سنه سبعين = YAJHFTAT:</i> <b>Pl. XIX. 4.</b>
T. 17	59.7 3.87	R 1.2	<i>Year 72 (A.H.)</i> The sole authority for this mint and date is Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1871, p. 434, no. 11). Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 104, no. 91) regarded this date as being in conflict with the historians, but see Introduction (Biographical Sketches).	
M. 50			<i>Nihāvand</i> <i>Year 69 (A.H.)</i> The sole authority for this mint-signature (no. 43) and date is Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 103, no. 89). The obverse margin is thus described : 'In second quarter :: الله سبّع ; in third quarter بـصـرـه and in fourth quarter بـهـلـه'. The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Unfortunately it was not illustrated. Mordtmann's interpretation of the mint-signature was WH = Bihkobād. Cf. M. 48 above and I. 43 below.	
I. 43		R	<i>Dast-i-Maisān ?</i> <i>Year 67 (A.H.)</i> As no. 206 above; name-legend <i>مـعـاـدـه MUJAP I-</i> <i>زـبـرـان ZUBIRAN</i> margin apparently as on M. 50 above, but it is slightly obliterated in third quarter.	As no. 206 above, but mint-signature no. 23 = DSHT (?) ; date <i>سبعين = HFTSHST.</i>

207. East India Company Collection 1845.

I. 43. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions). Cf. M. 48 above.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
208	59.8 3.87	AR 1.3	<p style="text-align: center;">(xviii) Mukātil ibn Misma'</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(مقاتل بن مسمع)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">†A.H. 72 = A.D. 691</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Bishāpūr</p> <p>Year 71 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament *; name-legends</p> <p style="text-align: center;">مُكَاتِلٌ MUKATL إِمْسَانٌ I-MSMAAN</p> <p>margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَحْمَنَ رَحِيمٍ ::</p> <p>[holed in four places].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 12a (with pellet on r.) = BISH; date DUHFTAT = AYHFTAT (<i>sic</i>).</p>
Ties. 3			<p>Year 72 (A.H.)</p> <p>Tiesenhausen (<i>op. cit.</i>, in footnote to 208) ascribed to this mint and date a coin of this governor which was in the General Komarov Collection. The obverse legends were as on coin no. 208. Tiesenhausen correctly identified the governor (though he read his name as Muqātil ibn Misma'a [<i>sic</i>]) and suggested as an explanation of the puzzling Kufic legend in the third quarter نصر = نصر من الله. With this I cannot agree, although I have been unable to suggest any other with any certainty. Epigraphically Tiesenhausen's reading is impossible, as well as linguistically faulty. He read the mint-signature, also, as BSA and suggested FASA (فاسا) as its equivalent. This old interpretation has now been superseded. The date he gave as DUHFTAT, a date which agrees with that on the specimen mentioned by Mordtmann (see note to 208), but is not the same as that on the B.M. specimen described above. Tiesenhausen's coin weighed 52.9 gr. (3.43 grm.). Unfortunately it was not illustrated.</p>	Pl. XIX. 5.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			(xix) al-Mughira ibn al-Muhallab (المغيرة بن المهلب) Year 71 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament o; ear-ring ☰; name-legend  margin * :: الله بسم countermark no. 39 in third quarter.	Uncertain Mint Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 64 = SHAJA (?); date as on no. 208 above = AYHFTAT. Pl. XXXVI. 6.
I. 44	56.9 3.69	AR 1-3	Year 77 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; crescent over l. shoulder; name-legend  margin ///// . بسم countermark no. 33 in fourth quarter.	Balkh Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 14 = BLH; date DUPOUDOW = HFTHFTAT.
209	56.9 3.69	AR 1-3	Year 64 Y.E. = A.H. 76 As above; no crescent over l. shoulder; margin * :: الله بسم countermark no. 33 in fourth quarter.	Khurāsān ? As above; mint-signature no. 25 c = HURA (?); date <del>SHRSHST</del> for JHRSHST: margin :: * :: Pl. XIX. 6.

Cam. 11. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (ex Masson Collection).

I. 44. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

209. Eden Collection 1853.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
210	56.9 3.69	AR 1.3	As above, but countermarks no. 39 in first quarter and no. 14 in second quarter respectively.  <i>Year 74 (A.H.)</i>	As above.
211	56.9 3.69	AR 1.3	As above, but countermark no. 33 in fourth quarter.	As above, but mint-signature no. 26 = HURASAN; date ۲۷۰۰ هـ; no triangles of pellets in margin.
Pl. XIX. 7.				
<i>Merv al-Rūdh</i>				
<i>Year 64 Y.E. = A.D. 76</i>				
B. 36	57.5 3.73	AR 1.35	As above; countermarks nos. 14 and 33 in first and second quarters respectively.	As above, but mint-signature no. 42 = MRWRUT; date ۲۷۰۰ هـ.
Pl. XXXVI. 7.				
<i>Sīstān</i>				
<i>Year 73 (A.H.)</i>				
212	65 4.21	AR 1.3	As no. 209 above, but face fuller; last line of name-legend  <i>MUWĀWIYA I-APDULAN (sic);</i> countermark no. 14 in first quarter.	As no. 211 above, but mint-signature no. 51a for SIZSTAN; date SHFTAT:
Pl. XIX. 8.				
Cam. 12	64.0 4.14	AR 1.3	As above, but no countermark in second quarter.	As above, but mint-signature no. 51 = SIZAJTAN: (?); date written thus  <i>MUWĀWIYA</i>
Pl. XXXVI. 8.				

210. Eden Collection 1853.

B. 36. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 184).

212. Eden Collection 1853.

Cam. 12. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
213	63.2 4.10	AR 1.25	<p>(xxi) <u>Khālid ibn 'Abdallāh</u>  <u>خالد بن عبد الله</u>  deposed A.H. 75 = A.D. 694</p> <p>Bishāpūr</p> <p>Year 71 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ; ear-ring ; name-legends  (sic) HALID I-   APDULAAN margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ  * مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ</p> <p>(i.e. In the name of Allah, Muhammad is Allah's Apostle).</p>	<p>Usual fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 12 a = BISH (pellet on r.); date  = AYHFTAT; pellet in third quarter of margin and over </p>
M. 51			Year 73 (A.H.)	Pl. XIX. 9.
214	51.7 3.35	AR 1.25	<p>Year 74 (A.H.)</p> <p>As no. 213 above (pellet above r. shoulder), but name-legends in first line  HALIT: I- [surface worn].</p>	<p>As no. 213 above, but date JHRHFTAT.</p>

213. M. Paul Tinchant presented 1936. The name HALID may be an engraver's mistake for HALIT. Cf. no. 214 below.

214. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

Pl. XIX. 10.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
215	59 3.82	AR 1.25	As above.	As above.
				Baṣra
				FIG. 5.
			Year 75 (A.H.)	
So. 1 (Fig. 5)	34.5 2.24	AR 0.9	As no. 213, but breast-ornament . . ; margin almost completely clipped away, but traces of :: الله بسم remain.	As no. 213, but mint-signature no. 13 = BJRĀ; date ۷۵۰۰۱۰ = PNJHFTAT.
			(xxii) Bishr ibn Marwān	
			(بِشْرُ بْنُ مَرْوَانٍ)	
			†A.H. 74 = A.D. 694	
			al-Raiy	
			Year 74 (A.H.)	
Th. 13	63.6 4.12	AR 1.2	Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; breast-ornament . . ; ear-ring . . ; name-legend	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 48 = RD; date JHARHFTAT; additional fourth outer circle (cf. no. below).
			margin	
			BISHR I- MRWANAN	
			margin	
			الله بسم *	
			* * *	
			Pl. XX. 1.	

215. J. R. Steuart Collection 1846.

So. 1. Soret (*Lettre à M. Justus Olshausen*, p. 12, no. 4), fortunately illustrated this unique coin when he published it. It was no. 757 of the Sprewitz Collection = Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, no. 53). See *Z.D.M.G.*, 1850, p. 507, no. 19.

Th. 13. Philip Thorburn Collection, London. See note at end.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Th. 14	62.1 4.02	AR 1.25	<p>(xxiii) 'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra          عبید الله بن ابی بکر (A.H.)</p> <p>A.H. 79 = A.D. 698</p> <p>Sīstān ?          Year 79 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legend</p> <p><u>سَوْدَلَةٌ</u> AUBITALA  <u>سَوْدَلَةٌ</u> I-ABUBKRAN          margin بسم الله * ربِّي</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 52c = SK; date</p> <p>سَوْدَلَةٌ = NAVHFTAT.  <b>Pl. XX. 2.</b></p>
O. 8		AR 1.3	<p>(xxiv) Ḥumrān ibn Abān          حمران بن ابان (A.H.)</p> <p>Ardashīr-Khurra          Year 72 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; earring ☈; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legend</p> <p><u>سَوْدَلَةٌ</u> HUMRAN  <u>سَوْدَلَةٌ</u> I-ABANAN          pellet l. of bottom line of name-legend; margin in Kufic          بسم الله :: حمران          بن ابان *</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 9 = ART with pellet r. and two pellets l. of mint-signature; date</p> <p>سَوْدَلَةٌ = DUHFTAT:          pellet in second quarter of margin.</p> <p><b>Pl. XL. 8.</b></p>
Cam. 13		AR 1	As above, but margin only [clipped]. بسم الله ::	As above, but date سَوْدَلَةٌ no pellet in margin.

Th. 14. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

O. 8. Osman Arıdağ Collection, İstanbul.

Cam. 13. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

**Pl. XXXVI. 9.**

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
216	60 3.88	AR 1.25	<p style="text-align: center;">(xxv) 'Atiya ibn al-Aswad          عطية بن الأسود</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Kirmān  <i>Year 72 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; name-legends</p> <p style="text-align: center;">سَعْدُ بْنُ اَتِيَّا          I-ASWDAN</p> <p>margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللَّهِ وَلِي الْاَمْرِ</p> <p>(i.e. in the name of Allah the protector of authority); countermark no. 48 in first quarter.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 33 = KRMANAN; date</p> <p style="text-align: center;">سَعْدَةُ كَرْمَانٍ = DUHFTAT:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XX. 3.</p>
I. 45		AR 1.25	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 73 or 76? (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As above, but without countermarks; no Pehlevi legend in third quarter.</p>	<p>As above, but mint-signature no. 37 = KRMAN BJ (?); date سَعْدَةُ كَرْمَانٍ = SIHTAT: (73) or شَهْفَاتٌ: (76).</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXVI. 10.</p>
Th. 15	55.9 3.62	AR 1.15	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 74 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As no. 216 above, but no countermarks; margin as on I. 45 above.</p>	<p>As no. 216 above, but mint-signature no. 28 = KRMAN; date (double-struck) جَرْهَفَتَاتٌ.</p>
217	63.3 4.1	AR 1.3	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 75 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As no. 216 above; margin as on I. 45 above, partly obliterated by countermark no. 14 which also occurs in fourth quarter; in first quarter countermark no. 30.</p>	<p>As no. 216 above, but mint-signature no. 34 = KRMANNHR; date پَنْجَهَفَتَاتٌ; margin * *</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XX. 4.</p>

216. Claude Steuart 1848.

Th. 15. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

I. 45. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

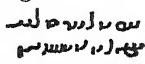
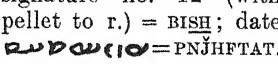
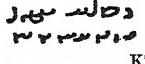
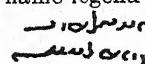
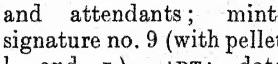
217. Claude Steuart 1848.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
218	54.2 3.51	AR 1.2	As above, but without countermarks [more worn].	As above, but mint-signature no. 28 = KRMAN; date written thus: <i>سنه مدعوه (٢٨) = PNJHFTAT:</i> no star in margin. Pl. XX. 5.
N. 2		AR	Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends in Pehlevi KTRII AMIR/I-WRUISHNIKAN (i.e. Katari Commander of the Faithful); margin <i>لا حكم الا لله</i> (i.e. there is no judgement but Allah's).	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 9 (with pellet r. and l.) = ART; date PNJHFTAT.
I. 46		AR	As N. 2 above, but name-legends <i>امير</i> <i>امير</i> APDULA KTRI AMIR I-WRUISHNIKAN margin <i>بسم الله لا حكم الا لله</i>	As N. 2 above, but mint-signature (with pellet on r.) no. 12c = BSH (for BISH); date <i>امير</i> = NAVSHST; margin, in second quarter uncertain Pehlevi legend partly obliterated.

218. J. R. Steuart 1846.

N. 2. Königsberg University Collection (Nesselmann, p. 12).

I. 46. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
219	57.4 3.72	AR 1.2	Year 75 (A.H.) As N. 2 above, but breast-ornament ☽; name-legend  APDULA KTRII AMIR I-WRUISHNIKAN	As N. 2 above, but mint-signature no. 12 (with pellet to r.) = BISH; date PNJHFTAT. 
220	61.8 4.00	AR 1.2	Dārābjird Year 75 (A.H.) As no. 219 above, but breast-ornament ..	As no. 219 above, but mint-signature no. 22 = DARAW. (?). 
I. 47		AR	Zaranj Year 75 (A.H.) As no. 219 above, but name-legend  KTRII AMIR I-WRUISHNIKAN	As no. 219 above, but mint-signature no. 57 = ZR. 
ANS. 15		AR 1.25	(xxvii) al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufra (الهَلْبَ بْنُ أَبِي صَفْرَةَ) †A.H. 82 = A.D. 701 Ardashir-Khurra Year 76 (A.H.) Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; ear-ring ☽; name-legend  MUHALP: I- ABUJFRAAN margin بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 9 (with pellet l. and r.) = ART; date SHSHFTAT. 

219. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

I. 47. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

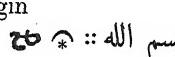
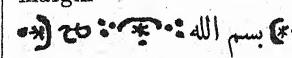
ANS. 15. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

220. G. le Strange presented 1881.

Pl. XX. 8.

Pl. XX. 6.

Pl. XX. 7.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Bishāpūr Year 75 (A.H.)	
221	56.6 3.67	AR 1.2	As above, but breast-ornament ☺; ear-ring ☻; margin 	As above, but mint-signature no. 12a (with pellet on r.) = BISH; date PNJHFTAT Pl. XX. 10.
222	58.3 3.78	AR 1.3	As above.	As above. Pl. XXI. 1.
223	45.7 2.96	AR 1.1	As above [clipped].	As above.
			Year 76 (A.H.)	
224	53.1 3.44	AR 1.25	As no. 221 above.	As no. 221 above, but date SH(SH)HFTAT. Pl. XXI. 2.
225	56.7 3.67	AR 1.2	As above.	As above.
226	46.1 2.99	AR 1.2	As above [clipped and worn].	As above.
Do. 4			Year 79	
			Dorn ( <i>Mélanges</i> , ii, p. 261, no. 7) attributes a coin of this governor to this mint and year, but the date was wrongly read for 76 as is witnessed by Markoff ( <i>Monnaies Arsacides, &amp;c.</i> , p. 132, no. 58) who described the same coin.	
			Dārābjird Year 76 (A.H.)	
227	56 3.62	AR 1.2	As no. 221 above, but breast-ornament ☺; margin 	As no. 221 above, but mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date SHSHHFTAT. Pl. XXI. 3.

221. J. R. Steuart Collection 1846.

222. M. Jacques de Morgan presented 1920.

223. Rollin 1852.

224. India Office Collection presented 1882. Cf. Nützel, no. 186 a.

225. M. Jacques de Morgan presented 1920.

227. Claude Steuart 1848.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
So. 2	56.6 3.67	AR 1.25	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Kirmān</i></p> <p><i>Year 76 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>Usual type.</p>	<p>Usual type, but mint-signature no. 34 = KRMANNHR(?) ; date <u>SHSHHFTAT</u>.</p>
I. 48		AR	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 77 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As no. 221 above, but breast-ornament .•; margin  *  بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم</p>	<p>As no. 221 above, but mint-signature no. 34 = KRMANNHR ; date HFTHFTAT</p>
RB. 10	60 3.88	AR 1.2	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 78 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As no. 221 above, but small crescent over l. shoulder; breast-ornament .•; ear-ring .•; second line of name-legends</p> <p>  ABU ŢFRAAN</p> <p>margin  *  بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم</p>	<p>As no. 221 above, but mint-signature no. 34 as above ; date = HSHTHFTAT margin .*</p>
B. 37	59.7 3.87	AR 1.25	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Iṣṭakhr</i></p> <p><i>Year 69 or 79 (A.H.)?</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament  (with pellet above on neck); name-legends as on no. 221 above; margin  *  الله بسم ; in third quarter a Kufic graffito  = جيد (i.e. excellent).</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 53 b (with pellet l. and r.) = ST ; date NAVSHST(?) or NAVHFTAT(?)</p>

So. 2. Soret (*Lettre à M. Dorn*, 1856, p. 14 = Stickel, *Handbuch*, ii, no. 54).

I. 48. Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

RB. 10. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.

B. 37. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 189).

Pl. XXI. 4.

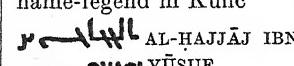
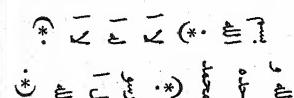
No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
228	57.6 3.73	R 1.25	<p>Year 78 (A.H.)</p> <p>As B. 37 above, but with the addition of <math>\omega</math> in fourth quarter and without marginal graffito [surface partly corroded].</p>	<p>As B. 37 above, but date <u>HSHTHFTAT</u>:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXI. 5.</p>
ANS. 16		R 1.2	<p>Uncertain Mint</p> <p>Year 76 (A.H.)</p> <p>As ANS. 15 above, but breast - ornament <math>\ddot{\circ}</math>; margin</p> <p></p>	<p>As ANS. 15 above, but mint-signature no. 54 (with pellet on l.) = TART(?)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XX. 9.</p>
I. 49		R 1.15	<p>Zaranj</p> <p>Year 75 (A.H.)</p> <p>As no. 227 above, but name-legends</p> <p></p> <p>MHLB I- (sic) ABUJUFRAAN</p> <p>margin <math>\ddot{\circ} : \ddot{\omega} \ddot{\omega}</math></p>	<p>As no. 227 above, but mint-signature no. 57 (with pellet on r.) = ZR;  = PNJHFTAT.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXVII. 2.</p>
M. 52			<p>Year 76 (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1879, p. 109, no. 96). Apparently the margin was as on no. 221 above. The coin was in his own collection and weighed 52.5 gr. (3.4 grm.). No other particulars are given.</p>	

228. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1935.

ANS. 16. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

I. 49. Istanbul Museum. Unfortunately the worn surface of the obverse does not permit the unusual spelling of the name-legends to be clearly illustrated on the plate.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
I. 50		AR	<p>(xxviii) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad (ibn al-Ash'ath)</p> <p>عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث</p> <p>Bishāpūr</p> <p>Year 82 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; name-legends</p> <p>APDARMAN (sic) I-MHMTAN</p> <p>margin almost obliterated.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 12 (with pellet on r.) = BISH; date DUHSHTAT.</p>
Mar. 3	58.7 3.80	AR	<p>Dārābjird</p> <p>Year 70 Y.E. = A.H. 82</p> <p>As above, but name-legends</p> <p>APDURHMAN I- MHAMTAN</p> <p>margin</p> <p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ</p> <p>الرَّحْمَنُ ؟</p> <p>[holed].</p>	<p>As above; mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date HFTAT</p>
Do. 5			<p>(xxix) al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf</p> <p>الحجاج بن يوسف</p> <p>Ardashīr-Khurra</p> <p>Year 71?</p> <p>Dorn (<i>Mélanges</i>, ii, p. 260, no. 16) mentions a coin of this mint-signature and year in the Museum of the St. Petersburg Academy. Tiesenhausen (no. 216) repeats this and also misreads the mint-signature as ANT (= Andarābeh). As Hajjāj was not appointed over the Eastern Provinces until A.H. 75 and all his coins known to me are dated after this I am inclined to regard the date on this coin as being really 79 (q.v.).</p>	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Sch. 7			Year 77  In the Strauss Sale Catalogue ( <i>Schulman</i> , Jan., 1913, no. 1018) there is a coin mentioned with this mint-signature and date. Unfortunately it lacks confirmation as it is not illustrated.	
229	59.7 3.87	AR 1.25	Year 78 (A.H.)  Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; ear-ring ; name-legends in Kufic  margin (sic) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُهُ [surface of die broken over part of face and name-legend].	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 9 (with pellet l. and r.) = ART; date HSHTHFTAT; margin *
				Pl. XXI. 6.
			Year 79?  If my conjecture regarding Dorn's coin mentioned above (under year 71) be correct then it would give us the first recorded example of a coin of this mint and date.	
230	57.2 3.73	AR 1.15	Year 76 (A.H.)  As no. 229 above, but smaller in scale and name-legends clearer; margin  all within additional outer circle [die broken bottom r.]	Bishāpūr  As no. 229 above, but mint-signature no. 12 a (with pellet on r.) = BISH; date SHSHHFTAT; all within additional outer circle [break in die, bottom r.]
				Pl. XXI. 8.

## UMAIYAD GOVERNORS

119

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
231	58.4 3.78	AR 1.2	As above [die broken at l.].	As above, but date a little clearer.
232	58 3.75	AR 1.2	Year 77 (A.H.) As no. 230 above, but additional pellet l. and r. of wings of head-dress.	As no. 230 above, but date HFTHFTAT. <b>Pl. XXI. 9.</b>
233	57.3 3.71	AR 1.3	As no. 229 above, but <b>all</b> correctly written in the marginal legend.	As no. 229 above, but mint and date as on no. 232 above; no marginal additions. <b>Pl. XXI. 10.</b>
234	53.9 3.49	AR 1.2	Year 78 (A.H.) As above, but pellet over r. shoulder.	As above, but date HSHTHFT(AT)
235	41.4 2.68	AR 1.05	As above [clipped].	As above, but date more completely written HSHTHFTA(T) <b>Pl. XXI. 11.</b>
236	55.9 3.62	AR 1.25	Year 79 (A.H.) As no. 233 above [die broken across face and name-legend].	As no. 233 above; date NAVHFTAT <b>Pl. XXI. 12.</b>
Th. 16	40.7 2.64	AR 1.05	As above, but breast-ornament ☽; no pellet over r. shoulder; name-legend in Pehlevi — — — HAKAK I- — — — YUSEFA(N) (sic); margin — — — * :: all — [clipped].	As above; date NAVHFTAT; no pellet r. of mint-signature; margin ♫ <b>Pl. XXII. 1.</b>

231. Prof. Ernst Herzfeld presented 1936. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 192, Pl. III.

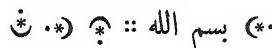
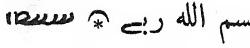
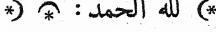
232. C. Clarke 1876.

233. L. A. Lawrence, Esq. presented 1930. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 193, Pl. III.

235. Count de Salis (ex Ismail Pasha's Collection) presented 1862.

236 Mrs. Jacob (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

Th. 16. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
237	57.7 3.74	AR 1.2	As above, but name-legend in Arabic as on no. 229 above; margin 	As above.  <b>Pl. XXII. 2.</b>
Do. 6			Year 80 (A.H.)?	Dorn ( <i>Mélanges</i> , ii, p. 261, no. 8) mentions a coin of this mint and date, but as Markoff ( <i>Monnaies Arsacides</i> , &c., p. 132) has no mention of it Dorn's assertion lacks confirmation.
Th. 17	50.5 3.27	AR 1.2	Year 81 (A.H.) As no. 237 above, but margin 	As no. 237 above, but pellet r. of mint-signature; date <u>AYUHSHTAT</u> ; no pellets in margin.  <b>Pl. XXII. 3.</b>
238	55.6 3.60	AR 1.2	Year 83 (A.H.) As no. 237 above, but additional small crescent over r. shoulder [surface scored].	As no. 237 above, but pellet r. of mint-signature; date <u>SHSHTAT</u> ; no additional pellets in margin.  <b>Pl. XXII. 4.</b>
239	59.6 3.86	AR 1.2	As above, but some of pellets in margin indistinct.	As above.
240	60.2 3.90	AR 1.25	As above, but no crescent over r. shoulder; pellet under  of name-legend; margin 	As above, but no pellet r. of mint-signature; pellet in third quarter.  <b>Pl. XXII. 5.</b>

237. Claude Stewart 1848.

Th. 17. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

238. R. Payne Knight presented 1824.

239. J. R. Steuart Collection 1846 = Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 314, no. 49).240. J. R. Steuart Collection 1846 = Thomas (*ibid.*, no. 50).

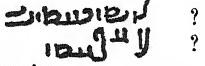
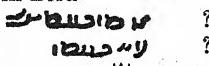
No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
<i>Uncertain Mint</i>				
B. 38	62.2 4.03	R 1.25	<p><i>Year 78 (A.H.)</i></p> <p>As no. 229 above, but breast-ornament ○ and margin</p> <p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ pellet l. and r. of wings of head-dress [holed top and bottom].</p>	<p>As no. 229 above, but mint-signature no. 54 (with pellet r. and l.) = TART?; date written thus: HSHTHFTA(T); margin ↘ in third quarter only.</p>
<b>Pl. XXI. 7.</b>				
<i>Year 80 (A.H.)</i>				
Flag. 1		R 1.25	As no. 237 above [bottom of margin cut off].	<p>As no. 237 above, but mint-signature no. 54? (with pellet r. and l.) = TART?; date HSHTAT; no pellets in margin.</p>
<b>Pl. XXXVII. 3.</b>				
<i>Uncertain Governors</i>				
(a) 'Abdallāh ibn al-Hārith (?)				
عبد الله بن الحارث ()				
<i>Sistān</i>				
<i>Year 66 (A.H.)</i>				
241	30.1 1.95	R 0.9	<p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends partly obliterated by countermark no. 11</p> <p>APDULA I- [ ] HRI . . . .</p> <p>[margin has been completely cut off].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 52 = sk; date SH(SH)SHST.</p>
<b>Pl. XXXVII. 4.</b>				

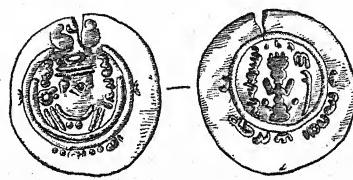
B. 38. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 195). Cf. ANS. 15 and 16 above.

Flag. 1. Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem.

241. India Office Collection presented 1882. The attribution is discussed in the note at the end.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Cam. 14	43.0 2.78	R 0.95	<p>(b) Aslam . . . . (?)            (. . . . اسلم)</p> <p>Al-Raiy            Year 67 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ; ear-ring ; name-legend  AJLM I-   SUPHAN (?)            [margin completely cut off; remains of counter-mark on r.]</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 48 = RD; date HFTSHST.</p>
Cam. 15	64.0 4.15	R 1.3	<p>(c) Kahtan (?)            Herāt            Year 67 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent and fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ; name-legend               margin * ::  Countermark no. 14 in first quarter.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 24 a = HRA; date, written defectively,  = HF(T)SH(S)T margin * *</p>
M. 53			<p>(d) . . . . (?)            Ardashir-Khurra            Year 69 (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for this mint and date is Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1854, p. 170, no. 864). The coin was in his own collection. The following is its description based</p>	<p>M. 53. See note at end.</p>

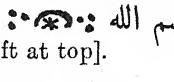
No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
T. 18			<p>on what Mordtmann wrote in 1854 and on his engraving of the obverse later in 1880 (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, p. 155):</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament <math>\ddot{\cdot}\ddot{\cdot}</math>; legend in the field</p>  <p>margin</p> <p>* بِسْمِ اللَّهِ لَا حُكْمَ لِلَّهِ كُوْنَ</p> <p>(i.e. in Allah's name : there is no judgement except Allāh's).</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 9 or 9 = ART; date = NVSHST</p>
M. 54			<p>Year 75 (A.H.)</p> <p>The first coin with this puzzling obverse legend to be published was by Thomas (<i>J.R.A.S.</i>, 1850, p. 320, no. 67). It was in the collection of Mr. Bland. The following are the details which may be deduced from Thomas's description:</p> <p>As M. 53 above, but legend in field</p>  <p>margin بِسْمِ اللهِ (sic).</p>	<p>As M. 53 above, but date PNJHFTAT.</p>
			<p>(e) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abdallāh</p> <p>عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله</p> <p>Ardashīr-Khurra</p> <p>Year 73 (A.H.)</p> <p>The sole authority for this attribution is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1865, pp. 472-3, no. 163; 1879, p. 106). The coin, badly clipped, was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Only part of the name-legends was visible (بْرَمَان i.e. RMAN) presumably the remains of the name 'Abd al-Rahmān (cf. I. 50, p. 117 above). The mint-signature was no. 9 = ART (read by Mordtmann as UT) and the date was SIHFTAT. Unfortunately the coin, or what remained of it, was not reproduced.</p>	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Th. 18	45.1 2.92	AR 1.1	<p style="text-align: center;">Adharbaijān ?</p> <p>Year ?</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; fillet over l. shoulder; name-legend</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>APDRHMAN</i> <i>I-APDLAAN</i></p> <p>margin <math>\star</math> <i>Allāh</i> <i>muw</i> [margin clipped at bottom].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; on r. downwards <math>\square \square \square \square</math> = ?; l. downwards mint-signature no. 10 <i>b</i> = <i>ATRA</i> (?).</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXVII. 7.</p>
B. 39	47.7 3.09	AR 1.1	<p style="text-align: center;">(f) Muḥammad</p> <p>(مُحَمَّد)</p> <p>Zaranj</p> <p>Year 40 ?</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust, but smaller in scale; crescent and traces of fillet (?) over l. shoulder; name-legend</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>MMHT</i> margin: <math>\star</math> (?) <i>650</i></p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants (but head-dresses of different shape); mint-signature no. 57 <i>b</i> = <i>ZR</i>; date ? perhaps <i>JHL</i> i.e. 40.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXVII. 8.</p>
<p>E. Anonymous Type</p> <p>Bronze</p> <p>(dated)</p> 				

Th. 18. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

B. 39. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 93, Pl. II).

FIG. 6.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
242 (Fig. 6)	54.1 3.51	Æ 0.85	<p>Dārābjird Year 68 (A.H.)?</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust, similar in style to no. 108 above, but hair outlined differently; in field r. in place of name-legends the Pehlevi word AFZUT; behind the head <math>\infty</math> GDH only; margin almost obliterated but traces of    [cleft at top].</p>	<p>Sassanian fire-altar without attendants; pellet on each side; mint-signature no. 17 = DA; date HSHTSHST: margin in Pehlevi and Arabic: * كَوْنَتْ بُرْجَدْ (i.e. May he increase; blessing!).</p>
243 (Fig. 7)	58.3 3.78	Æ 0.85	<p>As above, but countermark no. 36 in first quarter inverted.</p>	<p>As above, but badly obliterated in places.</p>
244	50.7 3.29	A. 1.3	<p>Year?</p> <p>Barbarous imitation of usual Sassanian bust to r.; name-legends</p> <p><math>\infty</math> for HUSRUI?  <math>\infty</math> ?  margin <math>\infty</math> * الله <math>\infty</math> سُلَيْمَان</p> <p>no trace of star and crescent on l. of margin [edge broken r.].</p>	<p>Uncertain Mint</p> <p>Barbarous imitation of usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; no star or crescent l. or r. of flames; mint-signature no. 52 b = ? SK; date <math>\infty</math> = HFT... (?)</p>

242, 243. W. Edwards 1848.

244. Capt. G. B. Oldfield presented 1890.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
245	58.8 3.81	R 1.2	<p style="text-align: center;">Zaranj</p> <p>Year?</p> <p>Barbarous imitation similar in execution to no. 244 above; name-legends</p> <p>— سُرْعَى for HUSRUI only; margin</p> <p>بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ رَحْمَةً وَرَحْيَانًا (i.e. In Allah's name minted in Zaranj).</p>	<p>Barbarous imitation similar to no. 244 above; date reduced to <del>و</del> = H.</p>

Pl. XXXVII. 10.

245. Mayhew, Salmon, and Whiting 1878. The Pehlevi mint-signature on both these coins appears to be SK and may be the initial letters of the Pehlevi form of SISTĀN of which province Zaranj was the capital.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ANS. 17	AR 1.1		<p style="text-align: center;">II. ARAB-EPTHALITE COINS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(i) <b>Rabi' ibn Ziyād (?)</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">ربيع بن زياد)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Uncertain Mint</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Year 39 Y.E. = A.H. 50/51</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ☽; name-legends? in Ephthalite script upwards</p> <p style="text-align: center;">لهم بسم الله</p> <p>margin, in Kufic script</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِرَّكَةِ اللهِ بِسْمِ اللهِ :</p> <p>(i.e. Blessing in Allah's name); countermark no. 17 over star and crescent on l. of margin [coin cracked across the middle].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 63=APNURAN(?) date نس = NVSH; marginal legend partly in Pehlevi and partly in Ephthalite script, beginning top l. and reading counter-clockwise:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللهِ بِرَّكَةِ اللهِ :</p> <p>additional outer circle traces of which are visible on r.</p>
246	57.5 3.73	AR 1.25	<p style="text-align: center;">(ii) <b>'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim (?)</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">عبد الله بن خازم)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Khurāsān ?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Year 63 (A.H.)</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends? in Ephthalite script upwards:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللهِ</p> <p>margin</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللهِ :</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِرَّكَةِ اللهِ</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 25 on l. = HURA; date on r. نس = SSHST:; marginal legend partly in Pehlevi and partly in Ephthalite script, beginning at top r. and reading clockwise:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللهِ (* بِرَّكَةِ اللهِ )</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللهِ (*) بِرَّكَةِ اللهِ</p> <p>all enclosed within additional outer circle.</p>

ANS. 17. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.  
246. Claude Steuart 1848.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ETN. 20		AR 1.3	As no. 246 above, but marginal legend in third quarter  [remains of mounting attached on l.].	As no. 246 above [remains of mounting attached top l.].  Pl. XXXVIII. 2.
247	58.1 3.76	AR 1.25	Year 68 (A.H.).  As no. 246 above, but ear-ring  and marginal legend in third quarter  [slightly double-struck in second quarter].	As no. 246 above, but marginal legend differently disposed  date = HSHTSH(ST). Pl. XXII. 7.
248	57.7 3.74	AR 1.25	As above [but no double-striking].	As above.
249	57.5 3.73	AR 1.25	As above, but marginal legend as on no. 246.	As above, but double pellets l. and r. of Pl. XXII. 8.
Ox. 7	57.7 3.74	AR 1.3	As above, but ear-ring as on no. 246 above; marginal legend in third quarter  .	As no. 247 above.  Pl. XXXVIII. 3.
Ox. 8	57.1 3.70	AR 1.3	As above, but marginal legend in third quarter as on ETN. 20.	As above, but marginal legend as on no. 246 above; date reduced to HSHT: simply. Pl. XXXVIII. 4.

ETN. 20. E. T. Newell Collection (ex Col. Biddulph Collection) New York.

247. Eden Collection 1853.

248. Cunningham Collection 1894.

Ox. 7, 8. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

- 250. East India Company 1845.
  - 251. India Office Collection presented 1882.
  - 252, 253. Cunningham Collection 1894.
  - 254. India Office Collection presented 1882.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
a	32.1 2.08	AR .95	<p style="text-align: center;">III. THE 'ABBĀSID GOVERNORS IN TABARISTĀN</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PROTOTYPE COINAGE OF THE ISPAHBADS</p> <p><i>Farkhān</i> (A.H. 93-110 = A.D. 711-28)</p> <p>Sassanian bust facing r. after the style of <u>Khusrau II</u>; breast-ornament ∴; above r. shoulder a small fillet and a rosette, the latter being instead of the usual bunched hair at the back of the head; above l. shoulders small crescent and fillet; l. of winged crown in field a small star; r. a small star and crescent; in field l. downwards in Pehlevi</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p style="text-align: center;">GDH  AFZUT</p> <p>in field r. downwards in Pehlevi name-legend</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p style="text-align: center;">FRHN:</p> <p>all within double circle of dots; margin divided into four quarters by star and crescent, top, bottom, right, and left.</p>	<p>Sassanian fire-altar and two attendants; the head-dress of each is conical in shape with flaps drooping on each side; small star l. and small crescent r. of flames respectively; r. downwards in Pehlevi the mint-name no. 55 = TPUR-STAN (i.e. Tabaristān); l. downwards in Pehlevi the date " = SHST: (i.e. 60 P.-Y.E. = A.H. 93); all within triple circle of dots; margin divided into four quarters as on obverse, but each quarter is further subdivided by a triangle of dots ∴.</p>
b	30.1 1.95	AR .95	<p>As above, but the name of the Ispahbad is written in a more archaic form</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p style="text-align: center;">FRHNAN</p> <p>fillet on l. shoulder missing, and margin has  (AFD i.e. excellent) in second quarter and  (NVK: i.e. good) in third quarter respectively; inner circle interrupted at top r. and l. [holed at top l.]</p>	<p>As above, but date PNJHFTAT: (i.e. 75 P.-Y.E. = A.H. 108).</p>

a, b, c, d. All these representative specimens of the prototype coinage are in the British

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
c	30.5 1.98	AR .9	<i>Dāt-burj-mihr</i> (A.H. 110-23 = A.D. 728-40) As above, but small star and crescent l. of crown; no star and crescent r. of crown; name of the Ispahbad <i>١٢٦٤ هـ = DATBURJMTN</i> margin <i>٣</i> or AFD only.	As above, but head-dress of attendants is flat with up-turned edges and a small crescent on top; date <i>١٢٦٤ هـ = SHSHHSHTAT</i> (i.e. 86 P.-Y.E. = A.H. 120). Pl. XXIII. c.
d	28.6 1.85	AR .95	<i>Khurshīd</i> (A.H. 123-44 = A.D. 740-61) As above, but small star l. and small star and crescent with pellet r. of crown; breast-ornament <i>•</i> ; name of Ispahbad <i>١٢٤٤ هـ = HURSHIT:</i>	As above, but date <i>١٢٤٤ هـ = NVT:</i> (i.e. 90 P.-Y.E. = A.H. 124). Pl. XXIII. d.
255	30.2 1.96	AR .95	<i>A. Posthumous Coinage of Khurshīd under the Arabs</i> <i>P.-Y.E. 110-14 = A.H. 144-8 = A.D. 761-5</i> <i>Year 110 = A.H. 144</i> As the foregoing prototype d, but broad face; small pellet l. and r. of crown.	<i>Year 111 = A.H. 145</i> As above, but small star r. and small crescent l. of flames; date <i>١٢٤٥ هـ DHST:</i> Pl. XXIII. 1.
256	29.8 1.93	AR .95	<i>As prototype d above [holed at bottom r.].</i>	<i>As above, but small star (almost a pellet) r. and l. of flames; date</i> <i>١٢٤٥ هـ YAJDHST:</i> [worn in places]. Pl. XXIII. 2.

Museum. I hope in the near future to publish an article on the coins of the Ispahbads in which I shall take the opportunity to maintain the above classification which has been disputed by Unvala (*Numismatique du Tabaristan*, pp. 7-8).

255. L. A. Lawrence, Esq., presented 1935.

256. Lady Pears presented 1936.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
257	27.7 1.79	AR .95	As no. 255 [cut at top r.].	As above. <b>Pl. XXIII. 3.</b>
Th. 19	26.8 1.74	AR .95	As above [but double-struck].	As above, but date ٢٣١٢ = AYUKDHST: with the letter <b>و</b> (p) in front. <b>Pl. XXIII. 4.</b>
U. 1		AR .95	<i>Year 112 = A.H. 146</i> As above, but clearer.	As above, but date written defectively دُواجَد = DUVAJD(H)ST
To. 3			<i>Year 113 = A.H. 147</i> Tornberg ( <i>Symbolae</i> , iii, pp. 25-6, no. 65 = Unvala, no. 860) describes a coin of <u>Khurshid</u> with this date SIJDHST. Unfortunately it was not illustrated so that the reading might be checked. In the Johnston Sale Catalogue ( <i>Sotheby</i> , July, 1906, p. 13, no. 132) there is mention of a specimen of this date, but little reliance can be placed on this statement.	
258	23.0 1.49	AR .9	<i>Year 114 = A.H. 148</i> As no. 257 above.	As no. 257 above, but date سِيَّدْهَسْت = JHARDHST: <b>Pl. XXIII. 5.</b>
U. 2			<i>Year 115 = A.H. 149</i> There is a coin in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London, and another in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, with an unusual date which Unvala (nos. 873, 874) interprets as the year 115. With this I feel disposed to differ and have read the date as 111. (See note to Th. 19 at end.)	
Zam. 2			<i>Year 120 = A.H. 155</i> Zambaur ( <i>Kollektion Windisch-Grätz</i> , p. 9, no. 8) records a coin of <u>Khurshid</u> of this year. He has almost certainly misread the date.	

257. L. A. Lawrence, Esq., presented 1935.

Th. 19. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

U. 1. J. M. Unvala Collection (now in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
B. Coins with the names of 'Abbāsid Governors				
(i) Khālid ibn Barmak				
(خالد بن برمك)				
Year 116 = A.H. 150				
Zub. 2				There is a coin with the name of this governor in Pehlevi characters of this date recorded by Prince Gagarine ( <i>Lettre à M. F. Soret</i> , 1862, p. 8, no. 1), who, however, did not substantiate his reading by means of an illustration. Unvala records two examples which he has himself seen: (1) (no. 875) in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, on which the date appears normally as <u>بُشْرَى</u> = SHSHDHST, and (2) (no. 876) in the Stockholm Museum, on which the date has the exceptional form <u>بُشْرَى</u> which he transliterates as šūnāčdah-sat (i.e. SHUNAJDHST according to my skeleton transliteration). While not altogether happy about this explanation, I think the specimen in the Zubov Collection settles the matter of the date, which is unmistakable. In the Istanbul Museum I recently saw two specimens with date similar to that on the Stockholm coin recorded by Unvala. If the interpretation given by him is not correct I can only suggest that it is the date 119 ( <u>بُشْرَى</u> NVAJDHST) with an additional letter <u>ش</u> (ش) at the beginning. Cf. the note at end to Th. 19 above for what may be a parallel case.
Z. 4	24·6 1·59	.R. .85	Year 117 = A.H. 151  Usual Sassanian bust; no crescent over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ; small star r. and l. of crown; name-legend <u>پیغمبر</u> HALIT margin <u>بُشْرَى</u> AFD in second quarter [break in margin r.].	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; mint-signature no. 55 = TPURSTAN (i.e. Tabaristān); date <u>بُشْرَى</u> = HFTDHST margin as on prototypes.
259	28·8 1·87	.R. .9	Year 118 = A.H. 152  As Z. 4 above, but small star and crescent r. of crown.	Pl. XXIII. 6.  As Z. 4 above, but date <u>بُشْرَى</u> = HSHTDHST Pl. XXIII. 7.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
260	31.2 2.02	AR .95	Year 119 = A.H. 153/4 As Z. 4 above [slightly double-struck].	As above, but date <b>١٥٣٢</b> = NVAJDHST: Pl. XXIII. 8.
Zub. 3			Year 120 = A.H. 155 The only known specimen of a coin of Khālid with this date is recorded by Unvala (no. 899) as being in the Zubov Collection, Moscow. He gives the date-legend as <b>١٥٥١</b> = VISTST:	
			(ii) 'Umar ibn al-'Alā (عمر بن العلاء)	
			(a) <i>With name in Pehlevi</i>	
261	27.1 1.76	AR .95	Year 120 = A.H. 155 As no. 259 above, but name-legend <b>أومر</b> AUMR:	As no. 259 above, but date <b>١٥٥٠</b> = VISTST: small star r. and small crescent l. of flames respectively. Pl. XXIII. 9.
262	22.8 1.48	AR .9	Year 121 = A.H. 156 As no. 261 above [pierced r.].	As no. 261, but small star instead of crescent l. of flames; date <b>١٥٥١</b> = AYUKVISTST small pellet over P of mint-name. Pl. XXIII. 10.
ANS. 18		AR .9	Year 123 = A.H. 158 As no. 262 above, but margin has additional legend in third quarter <b>ساد</b> (inverted) [pierced on l.].	As no. 262 above, but small star l. and small crescent r. of flames clearly visible; date <b>١٥٥٣</b> = SIVISTST no pellet over mint-name. Pl. XXIV. 1.

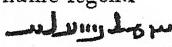
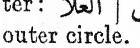
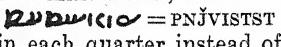
260. Lt. Col. Claude Stewart.

261. J. R. Steuart Collection 1846.

262. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

ANS. 18. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<i>Year 124 = A.H. 159</i>	
263	27.7 1.79	AR .9	As above, but small star instead of star and crescent r. of crown [break in die has made a flaw in neck].	As above, but date <i>PNJ̄VISTST</i> = JHARVISTST Pl. XXIV. 2.
264	26.1 1.69	AR .95	As above [die variety].	As above, but pellet over P of mint-name. Pl. XXIV. 3.
265	28.7 1.86	AR .95	As above [die variety].	As above [die variety].
			<i>Year 125 = A.H. 160</i>	
M. 55			No specimen of this date has so far been illustrated. Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1865, p. 488, no. 88) records one with marginal legend as on no. 263, and with date PNJ̄VISTST. Stickel ( <i>Handbuch</i> , ii, p. 112, no. 64) describes one on which the date had the form <i>BNB̄N̄ĪQ̄</i> . This latter resembles the one in the Ermitage, Leningrad, recorded by Unvala (no. 949). The latter also saw a specimen in the Zubov Collection, Moscow (no. 948). An example is mentioned, but without illustration, in Fraehn's Catalogue of the Sprewitz Collection (no. 747), and another is very unsatisfactorily described by Markoff ( <i>Monnaies Arsacides</i> , p. 125, no. 15) and incorrectly repeated as to the marginal legend by Unvala (no. 2035). See also Dorn, <i>Mélanges</i> , ii, p. 260.	
			<i>Year 126 = A.H. 161</i>	
To. 4			The sole authority known to me for this year is Tornberg ( <i>Symbolae</i> , iii, p. 26, no. 67). The coin is said to be in the Upsala Cabinet. It has never, however, been reproduced. Unvala (no. 950) refers only to Tornberg's MS. Cat., ii, p. 46, no. 9, but I have been unable to verify this. Apparently Unvala himself has never seen the coin, since he does not provide his customary transcription of the date. Cf. note to no. 261 above.	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Year 127 = A.H. 162				
P. 6			Lavoix (no. 153) records a coin of this date in Paris, but an examination of a cast of the coin kindly sent me by M. Jean Babelon shows that the date is really 121 as on no. 262 above. Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 110, no. 6) and Dorn ( <i>Mélanges</i> , vi, p. 680, no. 4) recorded examples of this date. Unvala (no. 952) gives some details of a specimen in his own collection. Unfortunately no example has been illustrated to admit of verification.	
(b) With name in Pehlevi and Arabic				
Year 125 = A.H. 160				
B. 40	31.0 2.01	AR .95	Usual Sassanian bust ; breast - ornament  ; name-legend  AUMRENAALA margin in Kufic script, beginning in third quarter and running counter-clockwise into the second quarter :  ; third outer circle.	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; pellet overs of mint-name; date  = PNJVISTST in each quarter instead of triangle of dots a fleur-de-lys; third outer circle.
Pl. XXXVIII. 5.				
(c) With name in Arabic				
Year 118 = A.H. 152				
I. 51			The two coins in the Istanbul Museum ( <i>Catalogue</i> , nos. 912, 913) have been attributed wrongly to this year as HSTDHST, whereas I have found on examination they are really of the year 122 (VISTDUST). There is no coin with 'Umar's name earlier than 120.	
Year 120 = A.H. 155				
Zub. 4			The coin published by Fraehn ( <i>Die Münzen der Chan vom Ulus Dschutschi's</i> , St. Petersburg, 1832, pp. 63-4, Pl. XVI) and ascribed to this year ought really to be ascribed to 129, as can be verified by a study of the plate. Olshausen (p. 29) considered the Pehlevi legend	

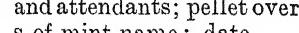
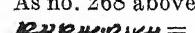
No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			peculiar. In a similar way the coin in the Istanbul Museum ( <i>Catalogue</i> , no. 19) attributed to this year is really 122, as I have certified by an examination of the coin itself. Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1879, p. 110), without any descriptive detail, mentioned a coin of this year with the name of the governor written in Kufic script, but unfortunately he did not reproduce it. Unvala (no. 955) records one as having been seen by him in the Zubov Collection, Moscow.	
ETN. 21		AR .95	<p>Year 121 = A.H. 156</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ; name-legends in Kufic script <i> Jas 'UMAR</i>; margin</p> <p><i>3 on</i> AFD in second quarter [holed at bottom].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; traces of pellet over P of mint-name; date</p> <p><i> 122 122 122 = AYUKVISTST</i></p>
266	28.5 1.85	AR 1	<p>Year 122 = A.H. 157</p> <p>As ETN. 21 above, but margin as on no. 263 above.</p>	<p>As ETN. 21 above, but no pellet over mint-name; date</p> <p><i> 122 122 122 = VISTDUST:</i></p>
B. 41	27.0 1.75	AR 1	<p>Year 123 = A.H. 158</p> <p>As above [holed].</p>	<p>As above, but date</p> <p><i> 122 122 122 = SIVISTST</i></p>
267	27.9 1.81	AR .95	<p>Year 124 = A.H. 159</p> <p>As no. 266 above [traces of mounting at top].</p>	<p>As no. 266 above, but date</p> <p><i> 122 122 122 = ŽHARVISTST</i></p>
B. 42	29.1 1.89	AR .9	<p>Year 125 = A.H. 160</p> <p>As above.</p>	<p>As above; date PNJVISTST.</p>

ETN. 21. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

B. 41. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 212).

267. Count de Salis (ex Ismail Pasha Collection) presented 1862.

B. 42. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 214).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
I. 52			Year 126 = A.H. 161  The specimen of this type and date recorded in the Istanbul Museum Catalogue (no. 25) is really of the year 129, as I was able to ascertain from an examination of the coin itself. In the Michael Sale Catalogue ( <i>Schulman</i> , March, 1914, p. 27, no. 381) a coin said to be of this type and date is reported, but unfortunately not reproduced. The Da Cunha Catalogue (Pt. i, p. 19, no. 399) contains another attributed to this year, but as again the coin is not reproduced, and moreover this is not a very reliable source, I hesitate to place any credence in it. Unvala has no references to such a date.	
268	29.9 1.94	R .9	Year 127 = A.H. 162  Usual Sassanian bust; small crescent and fillet over l. shoulder; small star l. and r. of crown, and on crown l. and r. small pellet in circle; breast-ornament  ; name-legends in Kufic  'UMAR; margin  AFD; NVAK	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; pellet overs of mint-name; date  Pl. XXIV. 7.
269	29.4 1.91	R .95	As above [but clearer in a few places].	As above.
270	28.5 1.85	R .95	As above, but legend in third quarter  [damaged at top r. by having been mounted].	As above.  Pl. XXIV. 8.
271	26.4 1.71	R .95	Year 128 = A.H. 163  As no. 268 above, but breast-ornament missing.	As no. 268 above, but date  HSHTVISTST Pl. XXIV. 9.

269. Miss K. M. Palmer-Smith 1938.

270, 271. R. Payne Knight presented 1824.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
272	27.7 1.79	AR .9	As above, but with breast-ornament as on no. 263 above.	As above.  Pl. XXIV. 10.
273	28.9 1.87	AR .95	As above.	As above.  Pl. XXIV. 11.
274	28.5 1.85	AR .95	As above.	As above [but date partly double-struck].  Pl. XXIV. 12.
275	27.2 1.76	AR .9	Year 129 = A.H. 164 As above [edge cut on r.]	As above, but date <i>كَوْكَبٌ</i> = NU VIST ST  Pl. XXIV. 13.
276	29.7 1.92	AR .95	As above [holed at top r.]	As above, but pellet over second T of mint-name.  Pl. XXXVIII. 6.
U. 3			(iii) Sa'īd ibn Da'laj (سعید بن دعلج) (a) With name Sa'īd only	Year 121 = A.H. 156  Unvala (no. 1161) records a coin of this year with the name-legends in Kufic سعید and Sa'īd. His transcription of the date is thus: <i>كَوْكَبٌ</i> , which he transliterates as ēvak-vist-sat (or according to my skeleton transliteration AYKVISTST). Apart from this isolated specimen the earliest coin of this governor is dated 125, and as there is no historical record that he governed Tabaristān at any previous date, the interpretation is very surprising. Taqizadeh (B.S.O.S., 1938, p. 921, footnote 1) has commented on the lack of historical confirmation of Unvala's

272. R. Payne Knight presented 1824.

273. Marsden Collection presented 1834.

274. Dr. I. Pietraszewski (*Sotheby*, April, 1853).

275. L. Strange 1841.

276. Spink 1938 (*Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 434).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<p>date. If we compare the date-legend with that on coins of 126, which is a common year for the coins of this governor, the similarity suggests that it is more than probably a defective spelling of the latter date, which is sometimes written <del>KUWIS</del> SHSHVISTST. To this date, therefore, I am inclined to attribute it, the more so as the marginal legend in the second quarter is <del>126</del>, which to my certain knowledge—discounting the apparent exceptions in Unvala's nos. 969 and 972 which I have already proved to be due to a mistake on the part of Thomas (see note to no. 266)—does not appear on any certain example before the year 125. The coin in question is in Stockholm—one of the numerous examples from Swedish treasure trove. Unvala's reference is to the Stockholm Inventory no. 8132.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 125 = A.H. 160</i></p>	
277	29.8 1.93	AR .95	<p>Usual Sassanian bust as on no. 268 above, but l. and r. of crown pellet without circle; no fillet over l. shoulder; name-legend in Kufic script <del>SA'ID</del>; in margin the legend in third quarter, as on no. 270.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as on no. 268 above; pellet only r. of flames; no pellet over mint-name; date PNJVISTST</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Pl. XXXVIII. 7.</p>
ANS. 19		AR .95	As above, but small star and crescent r. of crown.	<p>As above, but usual small star l. and crescent r. of flames.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Pl. XXIV. 14.</p>
			<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Year 126 = A.H. 161</i></p>	
278	28.9 1.87	AR .95	As no. 277 above, but small crescent and star r. of crown.	<p>As no. 277 above, but small star l. and crescent r. of flames; date <del>KUWIS</del> = SHSHVISTST</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Pl. XXIV. 15.</p>
279	29.6 1.92	AR .95	As above.	<p>As above.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Pl. XXIV. 16.</p>

277. Spink 1938.

ANS. 19. American Numismatic Society Collection.

278. Marsden Collection presented 1834.

279. Sir E. Grant Duff, K.C.M.G., presented 1917.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
280	27.7 1.79	AR .95	As above, but small star r. of crown [marginal legend partly obliterated in third quarter].	As above, but small star r. and small crescent l. of flames. <b>Pl. XXIV. 17.</b>
281	31.7 2.05	AR .9	As no. 278 above [holed at bottom].	As above. <b>Pl. XXXVIII. 8.</b>
			<i>Year 127 = A.H. 162</i>	
282	29.2 1.89	AR .9	As no. 281 above [cor- roded at bottom].	As no. 278 above, but date <del>1222/10</del> = HFTVISTST <b>Pl. XXV. 1.</b>
283	28.1 1.82	AR .9	As above [but more worn; part of marginal legend ob- literated in third quarter].	As above. <b>Pl. XXV. 2.</b>
			<i>Year 128 = A.H. 163</i>	
P. 7			The coin in the Paris Cabinet ( <i>Lavoix</i> , no. 155) which is ascribed to this year is really dated 126. Mordtmann ( <i>Z.D.M.G.</i> , 1854, p. 176, no. 896) records a coin of this date in the Ismail Pasha Collection. If this was the case then it was not one of those that found their way into the British Museum through the generosity of Count de Salis, who purchased the Ismail Pasha coins. Thomas ( <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1871, p. 457) mentions this date also amongst the coins of Sa'id, but he may only be repeating the statement of Mordtmann. The coin in the Istanbul Museum ( <i>Catalogue</i> , no. 29) which is attributed to this date, I have found on examination to be really 126. Dr. Unvala, however, reports two examples of this date (nos. 1257, 1258), one in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, and another in Stockholm. Unfortunately, beyond a transcription of the date and one or two other details given by Unvala, no specimen of this rare date has been illustrated. His citation from Markoff (no. 2055) of a coin of this date is due to misquotation, see above ANS. 19 note at end. <b>Pl. XXV. 3.</b>	

281. Spink 1938.

283. Dr. I. Pietraszewski (*Sotheby*, April, 1853).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
U. 4			<p>Year 129 = A.H. 164</p> <p>Unvala (no. 1259) records an example of this year in the Istanbul Museum from a cast with which I supplied him. Unfortunately there was a mistake in the casting at the Istanbul Museum, and the reverse of a coin of Yahyā (see below, I. 54) of this year was sent to me as a reverse of a coin of Sa'īd. It was only when I had an opportunity of examining the coins themselves some months ago that I was able to notice the confusion.</p>	
U. 5			<p>(b) <i>With full name Sa'īd ibn Da'laj</i></p> <p>Year 125 = A.H. 160</p> <p>Unvala (no. 1260) wrongly attributes to Stickel (<i>Handbuch</i>, ii, p. 114, no. 71) the description of a coin of this year with the governor's name written in full. In reality Stickel's coin is an ordinary coin of this year with the name Sa'īd (cf. note to ANS.19 above), but he incidentally mentions that the coin recorded by Fraehn in 1826 (<i>Recensio</i>, p. 4, no. 3), and overlooked by Mordtmann, had also the additional name of <i>ibn Da'laj</i>. Fraehn did not record the Pehlevi date because Olshausen had not as yet deciphered the legends. So that there is no proof that the coin in question was of this date. All the certified examples in fact are of the following year 126.</p>	
I. 53	A.R.		<p>Year 126 = A.H. 161</p> <p>Usual type, but name-legend in Kufic script</p> <p>سَعِيدٌ بْنُ دَلَاجٍ SA'ĪD IBN DA'LĀJ</p> <p>[holed and broken at side r. hand top and bottom].</p>	Usual type.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			(iv) <b>Yahyā</b> (يَحْيَا)	
I. 54		AR .95	<p>Year 129 = A.H. 164</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust as on no. 268 above; small star r. and l. of crown; small crescent and fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ; name-legends in Kufic script  YAHYĀ; margin   ornamental flourish in first and fourth quarters.</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as on no. 268 above; date  = NUVISTST small pellet over second T of mint-name.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXV. 4.</p>
C. 7	29.1 1.88	AR .95	As above.	<p>As above.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXXVIII. 9.</p>
O. 9		AR .95	<p>Year 130 = A.H. 165</p> <p>As above, but legend in third quarter as on no. 270.</p>	<p>As above, but date  = SIVST: with Pehlevi letter in front.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XL. 9.</p>
			(v) <b>al-Harashi</b> (الحرشى)	
284	26.4 1.71	AR .95	<p>Year 131 = A.H. 166</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust as on no. 268 above, but star only r. of crown; no crescent over l. shoulder, but traces of fillet; breast-ornament ; name-legends in Kufic script  HARASHI; margin  </p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as on no. 268 above; pellet l. and r. of flames; date  = AIYUKSIST</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Pl. XXV. 5.</p>

I. 54. Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, no. 33).C. 7. Copenhagen Museum (*Østrup*, p. 9, no. 86).

O. 9. Osman Arıdağ Collection, Istanbul.

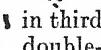
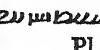
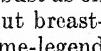
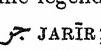
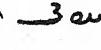
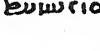
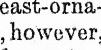
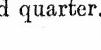
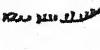
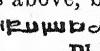
284. Anon. presented 1935.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Zub. 5			(vi) Sulaimān (سليمان) Year 133 = A.H. 168 The sole authority for this date is Unvala (no. 1324), who saw a specimen in the Zubov Collection, Moscow. The date was سلیمان = SSIVST. The other details of the coin were as on the coins of Sulaimān described below.	
B. 43	27.8 1.80	AR .95	Year 136 = A.H. 171 Usual bust of Sassanian type with fillet over each shoulder, but instead of the face there is a lozenge in the middle of which, in Kufic script, is the word بخ bakh (i.e. bravo!); behind in field l. downwards usual Pehlevi legends with rosette after AFZUT; in front in field r. downwards the name-legends in Kufic script سليمان (= Sulaimān) with rosette at end; neck and breast-ornamentation  ; margin as on no. 270.	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; date شهشیرو = SHSHSIVST:
285	29.5 1.91	AR .9	Year 137 = A.H. 172 As B. 43 above.	As B. 43 above, but date هشتمان = HFTSIVST: <b>Pl. XXV. 6.</b>
286	28.9 1.87	AR .95	As above [partly obscured on crown].	As above [end of mint-name partly obscured]. <b>Pl. XXV. 7.</b>

B. 43. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 239).

285. G. le Strange 1881.

286. M. Jacques de Morgan presented 1920.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
287	25.9 1.68	AR .9	As no. 285 above, but neck- ornamentation  ; margin has  in third quarter [partly double- struck].	As no. 285 above.  Pl. XXV. 8.
288	37.0 2.39	AR .95	Year 138 = A.H. 173  As no. 285 above, but neck- ornamentation 	As no. 285 above, but date  = HSHTSIVST  Pl. XXXVIII. 10.
Z. 5	29.9 1.94	AR .95	Year 135 = A.H. 170  Usual Sassanian bust as on no. 283 above, but breast- ornament  ; name-legend in Kufic script  JARĪR; margin 	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; small star l. and r. of flames; date  = PNJSIVST:  Pl. XXV. 9.
289	28.1 1.82	AR 1	Year 136 = A.H. 171  As above; no crescent over l. shoulder; breast-orna- ment  ; margin, however, has  in third quarter.	As above, but pellet l. and r. of flames; date  = SHSHSIVST  Pl. XXV. 10.
C. 8	28.5 1.85	AR 1	Year 137 = A.H. 172  As above.	As above, but date  = HFTSIVST  Pl. XXXVIII. 11.

287. Mrs. Jacomb (General M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

288. Miss K. M. Palmer-Smith 1938.

Z. 5. Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester.

289. C. C. Brown Douglas 1886.

C. 8. Copenhagen Museum (*Ostrup*, no. 82 = *Unvala*, no. 1528).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse		
M. 56			(viii) Ma'add (ماد)			
			<p>Year 136 = A.H. 171</p> <p>The sole authority for this date is Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1879, p. 111, no. 10). The coin was in his own cabinet. The only other specimen of Ma'add's coinage known to him was a badly preserved one in St. Petersburg, which he expressly tells us (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1865, p. 476, no. 191; see also Dorn, <i>Mélanges</i>, iii, pp. 504-5) had a very uncertain (<i>unsicher</i>) date. In spite of this Unvala (no. 1531) classes it as belonging to this year. As for the other example Mordtmann describes it as follows:</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top; width: 50%;"> <p>Legends l. as usual; r. ماد (MAAD); in margin in second quarter <u>٣</u> <u>او</u>, in third quarter <u>١١</u> <u>٦١</u>. In front of and behind the diadem a star; before the beard nothing; on each shoulder a crescent between two points; on the throat ☈</p> </td> <td style="vertical-align: top; width: 50%;"> <p>l. <i>schasch si sat</i> (136); r. Tapuristan (over the u a pellet); alongside the top of the flames l. a vertical stroke  , r. a crescent; in the margin in each quarter a triangle of dots.</p> </td> </tr> </table> <p>Unfortunately the coin was not reproduced, so that the date might be verified. It is just possible that the date was really 138 (<u>ماد</u> <u>ماد</u>), which might easily be confused with 136 (<u>ماد</u> <u>ماد</u>).</p> <p>Year 138 = A.H. 173</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust; star to r. of crown; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ☈; name-legends in Kufic script ماد MA'ADD; margin <u>١١</u> <u>٦١</u> * <u>٣</u> <u>او</u> [holed in third quarter].</p>	<p>Legends l. as usual; r. ماد (MAAD); in margin in second quarter <u>٣</u> <u>او</u>, in third quarter <u>١١</u> <u>٦١</u>. In front of and behind the diadem a star; before the beard nothing; on each shoulder a crescent between two points; on the throat ☈</p>	<p>l. <i>schasch si sat</i> (136); r. Tapuristan (over the u a pellet); alongside the top of the flames l. a vertical stroke  , r. a crescent; in the margin in each quarter a triangle of dots.</p>	<p>Year 138 = A.H. 173</p> <p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; small crescent l. and small star r. of flames; pellet over r. of mint-name; date <u>ماد</u> <u>ماد</u> = HSHTSIVST</p>
<p>Legends l. as usual; r. ماد (MAAD); in margin in second quarter <u>٣</u> <u>او</u>, in third quarter <u>١١</u> <u>٦١</u>. In front of and behind the diadem a star; before the beard nothing; on each shoulder a crescent between two points; on the throat ☈</p>	<p>l. <i>schasch si sat</i> (136); r. Tapuristan (over the u a pellet); alongside the top of the flames l. a vertical stroke  , r. a crescent; in the margin in each quarter a triangle of dots.</p>					

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
(ix) Hāni (هانى)				
Year 137 = A.H. 172				
291	30.0 1.94	AR .95	Usual Sassanian bust; small star l. and r. of crown; breast-ornament ♀; fillet only over l. shoulder; name-legends in Kufic script هانى HĀNĪ with ع (i.e. probably the first letter of عـ = justice) written below; margin as on no. 290 above.	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; pellet l. and r. of flames; date هـ ١٣٧ هـ = H̄SHTSIVST.
Pl. XXV. 12.				
Year 138 = A.H. 173				
292	30.0 1.94	AR .95	As above, but star below fillet on l. shoulder very pronounced.	As above, but small star l. and r. of flames; date هـ ١٣٨ هـ = H̄SHTSIVST.
Pl. XXV. 13.				
293	31.1 2.02	AR .85	As no. 291 above.	As above, but date written thus: هـ ١٣٩ هـ
Pl. XXXVIII. 12.				
294	29.6 1.92	AR .9	As above, but letter below the governor's name differently shaped; no breast-ornament.	As above, but pellet l. and r. of flames as on no. 291 above.
Pl. XXV. 14.				
295	29.0 1.88	AR .9	As no. 291 above [margin partly cut off l.].	As above.
Pl. XXV. 15.				
C. 9	30.2 1.96	AR .9	As no. 294 above.	As above, but small crescent l. and small star r. of flames; date written thus: هـ ١٤٠ هـ
Pl. XXXVIII. 13.				

293. Baldwin 1938.

C. 9. Copenhagen Cabinet (*Østrup*, no. 85).

295. J. R. Steuart Collection 1846.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
T. 19				(x) Mukātil (مُكَاتِل)
			Year 129 = A.H. 164	
			<p>Thomas (<i>J.R.A.S.</i>, 1871, pp. 458–9, no. 10, Pl. II, no. 15) has quite wrongly attributed to this year a coin dated 139 (similar to nos. 296–8 below). Unvala (no. 1274) has accepted this and has reconstructed from Thomas's modern Pehlevi script a supposititious transcription of the date (١٢٩) which is not the same as in Thomas's plate. In the same reprehensible manner he has grouped three fragments of coins in the Ermitage, Leningrad, and in Stockholm (nos. 1275–7) which have no trace of Mukātil's name but have a date that, according to his drawings, must be 129. He has concluded that they must be Mukātil's, solely on the basis of Thomas's coin afore-mentioned. I have no hesitation in stating that there is no coin of Mukātil as early as this year.</p>	
U. 6			Year 133 = A.H. 168	
			<p>Unvala (no. 1278) has read the date on the Copenhagen coin of Mukātil as of this year, whereas I have found on an examination of a cast of this coin that it is really the common date 139, and have illustrated it (Pl. XXXIX, 1) in order to demonstrate this (see below C. 10). Østrup (no. 81) tentatively read it as 131, which was the opinion of Olshausen (<i>op. cit.</i>, pp. 24–5) and also Krafft (p. 12, no. 10).</p> <p>The only other coins attributed to this year are also so read by Unvala (nos. 1279–81). They are in the Muracciole Collection, Teheran. None of them, unfortunately, has been illustrated. The transcription of the Pehlevi date as given by Unvala is as follows: ١٣٣ which on the face of it certainly looks like SISRVST (133), but the fact that an additional stroke would make it into ١٣٩ (139) leads me to suspect the dating.</p>	
U. 7			Year 136 = A.H. 171	
			<p>Again the sole authority for this date is Unvala (nos. 1282–3) based on two coins in the Zubov Collection, Moscow. His transcription is ١٣٦ = SHSHSIVST. Unfortunately neither specimen is illustrated. The date might easily be confused with 138 (see below).</p>	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
U. 8		AR .9	<p><i>Year 137 = A.H. 172</i></p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust as on no. 291 above; name-legends in Kufic script  <b>مَقَاتِلْ MUQĀTIL</b> [worn and damaged at bottom].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as on no. 291 above [date HFTSIVST damaged at end].</p> <p><b>Pl. XXXVIII. 14.</b></p>
ANS. 20		AR .95	<p><i>Year 138 = A.H. 173</i></p> <p>As above; no fillet over l. shoulder.</p>	<p>As above, but date HSHTSIVST; pellet r. of flames appears to be missing.</p> <p><b>Pl. XXV. 16.</b></p>
296	28.3 1.83	AR .9	<p><i>Year 139 = A.H. 174</i></p> <p>As above, but fillet over l. shoulder.</p>	<p>As above, but small crescent l. and pellet r. of flames; date NAVSIVST:</p> <p><b>Pl. XXV. 17.</b></p>
297	30.7 1.99	AR .9	<p>As above.</p>	<p>As above, but small star l. and crescent r. of flames.</p> <p><b>Pl. XXVI. 1.</b></p>
298	28.0 1.81	AR .9	<p>As above [name-legends partly blurred].</p>	<p>As above, but pellet l. and r. of flames.</p> <p><b>Pl. XXVI. 2.</b></p>
C. 10	29.6 1.92	AR .95	<p>As above [margin obscured in second quarter].</p>	<p>As no. 297 above.</p> <p><b>Pl. XXXIX. 1.</b></p>
299	27.0 1.75	AR .9	<p>As above; breast-ornament inclined [notched on r.].</p>	<p>As above, but pellet r. of flames; date blurred at end.</p> <p><b>Pl. XXXIX. 2.</b></p>

U. 8. Unvala Collection.

ANS. 20. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

296. J. R. Steuart Collection 1846.

C. 10. Copenhagen Cabinet (*Østrup*, no. 81).

299. Ebeian, Beirut 1938.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
U. 9		AR .9	As no. 296 above.	As above, but epigraphy of date different. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 3.</b>
U. 10		AR .95	As U. 9 above, but fillet over l. shoulder has be- come a line.	As U. 9 above, but small crescent l. and r. of flames; epigraphy of date different. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 4.</b>
U. 11		AR .9	<i>Year 140 = A.H. 175</i> As U. 10 above.	As U. 10 above, but date JHILST:; small crescent l. and small star r. of flames. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 5.</b>
U. 12		AR .95	<i>Year 141 = A.H. 176</i> As no. 296 above.	As above, but date AYUKJHILST: [margin en- crusted at bottom]. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 6.</b>
(xi) 'Abdallāh (عبد الله)				
(a) <i>With the name 'Abdallāh only</i>				
<i>Year 139 = A.H. 174</i>				
I. 55		AR	Usual Sassanian bust as on no. 298 above; breast- ornament ♦; name-legends in Kufic script الله 'ABDALLĀH [holed at bot- tom].	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as on no. 298 above; date partly indistinct but almost cer- tainly نَافْسِيَهُ = NAVSIVST. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 7.</b>
<i>Year 140 = A.H. 175</i>				
300	33.1 2.15	AR .9	As above, but breast-orna- ment ☺ (?) [surface badly worn].	As above, but date نَافْسِيَهُ = JHILST: [margin badly worn].

U. 9, 10, II, 12. Unvala Collection.

I. 55. Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, no. 41).

300. Dr. C. Davies Sherborn presented 1936.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
Th. 20	26·4 1·71	AR .9	As above, but much clearer.	As above, but clearer. <b>Pl. XXVI. 3.</b>
Z. 6	29·1 1·89	AR .9	As above, but breast-ornament as on I. 55 above.	As above [top of flames worn]. <b>Pl. XXVI. 4.</b>
ANS. 21		AR .95	As above.	As above, but small star l. and small crescent r. of flames clearly discernible. <b>Pl. XXVI. 5.</b>
			<i>Year 141 = A.H. 176</i>	
U. 13		AR .95	As Th. 20 above, but not so clear.	As Th. 20 above, but date AYUKJHILST:; the end of the date is blurred; apparently small star l. and r. of flames. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 8.</b>
U. 14			<i>(b) With the additional name — عَرِيفٌ — in the margin</i>	
			<i>Year 141 = A.H. 176</i>	
U. 15			The sole authority for this new variety is Unvala (nos. 1655–6). He states that he has seen two examples, the one in the Hermitage, Leningrad, and the other in the Muracciole Collection, Teheran. Unfortunately neither has been illustrated. According to his description the coins apparently are similar to the 'Abdallāh coins described above, with this remarkable exception, that instead of the Pehlevi legend in the third quarter of the margin there is an Arabic legend in Kufic script as follows: — عَرِيفٌ —. Unvala interprets this as Ibn 'Arif, although from historical evidence one would expect 'Abdallāh's patronymic to be Ibn Kahtaba. The date is 141 بَعْدَ — = AYUKJHILST. It would be interesting to have this reported variety confirmed by a reproduction.	
			<i>Addendum.—Unvala (p. 13, § 7) mentions a third class of 'Abdallāh's coins, namely, with the governor's name repeated in the fourth segment of the obverse margin. As no such coin is included in his Catalogue I presume that this is a mistake.</i>	

Th. 20. Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

Z. 6. Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester.

ANS. 21. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

U. 13, 14, 15. Unvala Collection.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
U. 16	R. .95		<p style="text-align: center;">(xii) Kudaid (?) (قدايد)</p> <p>Year 140 = A.H. 175</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust as on the preceding coins; small star l. and r. of crown; breast-ornament ; small crescent and fillet over l. shoulder; name-legends in Kufic which may be read as قدايد Kudaid or Fudaik; margin  <b>١٤٠١ *</b> <u>٣</u> av            ornamental flourish in first and fourth quarter [somewhat obscured].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants, as on previous coins; small star l. and crescent r. of flames; date <b>٢٩٢</b> = JHILST:</p>
I. 56	R. .95		<p style="text-align: center;">(xiii) Ibrāhīm (ابراهيم)</p> <p>Year 140 = A.H. 175</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust as on the preceding examples; small cross l. and r. of crown; no crescent or fillet over l. shoulder; breast-ornament ; name-legends in Kufic script <b>ابراهيم</b> IBRĀHĪM; margin  <b>١٤٠١ *</b> <u>٣</u> av</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; small star l. and r. of flames; date JHILST.</p>
ANS. 22	R. .95		As above, but crescent over l. shoulder.	As above, but star l. and crescent r. of flames.
ANS. 23	R. 1		<p>Year 141 = A.H. 176</p> <p>As above [marginal legend in third quarter partly obliterated].</p>	<p>As above, but pellet l. and r. of flames; date  <b>٢٩٣</b> = AYUKJHILST</p>

U. 16. Unvala Collection.

ANS. 22, 23. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

I. 56. Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, no. 44).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
U. 17			<p><i>Year 143 = A.H. 178?</i></p> <p>Unvala (nos. 1677 and 1678) attributes to this year two coins, one in the American Numismatic Society, New York, and the other in his own collection now in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay. The latter I have not seen, and unfortunately an illustration has not been published of it. There is no such coin amongst my casts of coins in the American Numismatic Society, which I communicated to Unvala. These I have illustrated in Pl. XXVI. 7 and 8, neither of which can be read as Unvala has done. In the absence of corroborative evidence I therefore strongly suspect his reading of the date on the other specimen in Bombay.</p>	
Mar. 4			<p><i>Year 123 = A.H. 158</i></p> <p>Markoff (<i>Monnaies Arsacides</i>, etc., pp. 127-8, no. 42) attributed a coin of this type to this date, which Unvala (no. 2072) has accepted with a query. The coin is almost certainly to be dated 129.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>C. Coins with AFZUT</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">(mostly anonymous)</p>
Zub. 6			<p><i>Year 129 = A.H. 164</i></p> <p>The first published example of a coin of this type and date is that in the Königsberg University Cabinet described by Nesselmann (<i>Die orientalischen Münzen</i>, p. 79, no. 6). Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G., 1865, p. 475, no. 185) has misquoted the reference to Nesselmann in which he is followed by Unvala (no. 1683). The latter, however, has come across another example (no. 1684) in the Zubov Collection, Moscow. According to him it has the following details: (1) In place of the name-legend AFZUT; (2) margin as on I. 56 above; (3) date <i>KUVKUT'II</i> = NUVTST; (4) pellet over second T of mint-name; and (5) star l. and crescent r. of flames. The coin described by Markoff mentioned above (Mar. 4) closely resembles this in salient details—and no doubt is another specimen of this somewhat rare year. No example has yet been illustrated.</p>	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
301	28.1 1.82	AR .9	<p>Year 130 = A.H. 165</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust as on preceding examples; no crescent but fillet and rosette over each shoulder; breast-ornament ♀; l. of head GDH only; in place of name-legends the Pehlevi word AFZUT; margin</p> <p><i>IAU* 3 ON</i> [die slightly broken].</p>	<p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants; small star l. and r. of flames; date</p> <p><i>IBU IWI</i> = SIVST.</p>
302	28.6 1.85	AR .95	<p>Year 131 = A.H. 166</p> <p>As no. 301 above, but clearer.</p>	<p>As no. 301 above, but pellet l. and r. of flames; date</p> <p><i>IBU IWI</i> = AIYUKISIVST</p>
303	29.3 1.90	AR .9	<p>Year 132 = A.H. 167</p> <p>As no. 302 above.</p>	<p>As no. 302 above, but date</p> <p><i>IBU IWI</i> = DUSIVST</p>
304	30.2 1.96	AR .95	As above, but clearer.	<p>As above, but date</p> <p><i>IBU IWI</i> = SIVDUST</p>
ANS. 24		AR .95	As above, but fainter; margin strangely reversed, thus: <i>W E * I U H I</i>	As above.

301. Dr. I. Pietraszewski (*Sotheby*, April, 1853).

302. Prof. T. O. Mabbott presented 1936.

303. Baldwin 1938.

ANS. 24. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

304. H. L. Rabino, Esq., presented 1909.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			<i>Year 133 = A.H. 168</i>	
305	29.8 1.93	AR .95	As no. 304 above, but fainter and breast-ornament has been reduced to a pellet.	As no. 304 above, but small star l. and r. of flames; date <i>ssivst</i> = SSIVST: Pl. XXVI. 13.
ANS. 25		AR .9	As no. 304 above.	As above, but date written thus: <i>ssivst</i> = SSIVST: Pl. XXVI. 14.
			<i>Year 134 = A.H. 169</i>	
306	26.9 1.74	AR .9	As no. 305 above [pierced at bottom].	As no. 305 above; small pellet l. and r. of flames; date (sic) <i>jharsivst</i> = JHARSIVST Pl. XXVI. 15.
ETN. 22		AR 1	As above.	As above, but date written thus: <i>jharsivst</i> Pl. XXVI. 16.
ANS. 26		AR 1	As above, but no breast-ornament.	As above, but date written thus: <i>jharsivst</i> = JHRSIVST: Pl. XXVI. 17.
Z. 7	32.9 2.13	AR .9	As above, but breast-ornament ..	As above, but small star l. and crescent r. of flames; date written thus: <i>jharsivst</i> Pl. XXVII. 1.

305. Count de Salis presented 1862 (ex Ismail Pasha Collection).

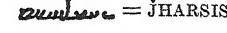
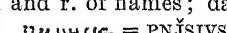
ANS. 25. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

306. Mrs. Jacomb (ex General M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

ETN. 22. E. T. Newell Collection in the American Numismatic Society, New York.

ANS. 26. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

Z. 7. Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
O. 10		AR	Usual type, but margin  [the legend in the third quarter being in Kufic script =  i.e. very fine].  Year 135 = A.H. 170	Usual type; date written thus:  = JHARSIST
307	29.4 1.91	AR 1	As O. 9 above; breast-ornament as on no. 305 above.	As O. 9 above; small star l. and r. of flames; date  = PNJSIVST <b>Pl. XXVII. 2.</b>
ANS. 27		AR .95	As above [but fainter; part of marginal legend blurred].	As above.  <b>Pl. XXVII. 3.</b>
308	30.6 1.98	AR .95	As above, but breast-ornament  ; in third quarter in Kufic script reading anti-clockwise  JARIR.	As above, but pellet l. and r. of flames; variation in date legend.  <b>Pl. XXVII. 4.</b>
ANS. 28		AR .95	As above, but breast-ornament  [governor's name in third quarter partly obliterated at beginning].	As above; date as on no. 307.  <b>Pl. XXVII. 5.</b>
309	31.2 2.02	AR .9	As no. 308 above, but margin has Pehlevi legend in third quarter 	As no. 307 above.  <b>Pl. XXVII. 6.</b>
310	29.3 1.90	AR .95	As above, but breast-ornament as on ANS. 28 above.	As above [break in die l. of flames].  <b>Pl. XXVII. 7.</b>

O. 10. Osman Aridağ Collection, Istanbul.

307. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

ANS. 27. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

308. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

ANS. 28. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

309. Mrs. Jacomb (ex Gen. M. Clerk Collection) 1920.

310. Parkes Weber Gift 1906.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
311	30.5 1.98	AR .95	As above; breast-ornament slightly displaced to r.	As no. 307 above.  <b>Pl. XXXIX. 11.</b>
ANS. 29		AR .95	As no. 310 above.	As no. 307 above.  <b>Pl. XXVII. 8.</b>
ANS. 30		AR .95	As above.	As above, but small pellet l. and r. of flames.  <b>Pl. XXVII. 9.</b>
Ox. 9	30.4 1.97	AR 1	As above, but breast-ornament a star.	As no. 307 above.  <b>Pl. XXXIX. 12.</b>
			<i>Year 136 = A.H. 171</i>	
312	24.7 1.60	AR .95	As no. 310 above [holed at bottom].	As above, but date <i>136</i> <del>136</del> = <i>SHSHSIVST</i>  <b>Pl. XXVII. 10.</b>
D. 1		AR .95	As above, but breast-ornament as on no. 308 above [obliterated in parts].	As above, but date written thus: <i>136</i> <del>136</del> = <i>SHSHSIST</i>  <b>Pl. XXVII. 11.</b>
ANS. 31		AR .9	As no. 312 above.	As no. 312 above; small star l. and r. of flames; date written in bolder style.  <b>Pl. XXVII. 12.</b>

311. Baldwin 1938.

ANS. 29, 30. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

Ox. 9. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

D. 1. Davis Collection, Baghdad (now dispersed).

ANS. 31. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
ETN. 23		AR .95	<p>Year 137 = A.H. 172</p> <p>As no. 312 above, but breast-ornament  ; Pehlevi legend in third quarter <b>1161</b></p>	<p>As no. 312 above, but date HFTSIVST.</p> <p><b>Pl. XXVII. 13.</b></p>
Ox. 10	30.1 1.95	AR 1	<p>Year 138 = A.H. 173</p> <p>As no. 312 above.</p>	<p>As above, but date  = HSHTSIVST</p> <p><b>Pl. XXXIX. 13.</b></p>
Flag. 2 (Fig. 8)	38.6 2.50	AR .95	<p>As ETN. 23 above; margin has the name of the governor  MA'ADD in addition in the fourth quarter, reading counter-clockwise.</p>	<p>As above.</p>
Do. 7			<p>Year 139 = A.H. 174</p> <p>The first one to vouch for this date was Dorn (<i>Mélanges</i>, p. 280). Père Paulin Lemaire (<i>op. cit.</i>, p. 295) records a specimen in the Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem. No example, however, has ever been illustrated. When I saw the one in Jerusalem I read the date as 139, but unfortunately did not obtain a cast of it.</p>	
U. 18			<p>Year 140 = A.H. 175</p> <p>Besides the specimen of this year described by Mordtmann (<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>, 1865, p. 493, no. 120) Unvala (nos. 1937-41) gives the details of several specimens in the</p>	

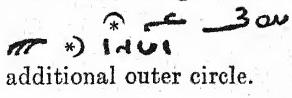


FIG. 8.

ETN. 23. E. T. Newell Collection, New York.

Ox. 10. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Flag. 2. Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum).

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Zubov Collection, Moscow, and in the Muracciole Collection, Teheran. But the earliest reference to such a coin is probably in Dorn ( <i>Mélanges</i> , ii, p. 260, no. 9), where a coin of this type in the Museum of the St. Petersburg Academy is attributed to the year 104. This date is either a misprint or a misreading of 140. No specimen has yet been fully illustrated.	
			<i>Year 141 = A.H. 176</i>	
313	39.5 2.56	AR .95	Usual Sassanian bust, etc., as on ANS. 31 above [margin cut bottom l.].	Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants, etc., as on ANS. 31 above; small star l. and crescent r. of flames; date <i>DUJHILST</i> = AYUKJHILST <b>Pl. XXVII. 14.</b>
Z. 8	35.2 2.28	AR .95	As no. 313 above, but marginal legend barely visible.	As no. 313 above, but small crescent vertically r. and l. of the flames. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 14.</b>
			<i>Year 142 = A.H. 177</i>	
RB. 11	32.1 2.08	AR .9	As no. 313 above [margin unbroken].	As no. 313 above; date <i>DUJHILST</i> : <b>Pl. XXVII. 15.</b>
U. 19		AR .95	As RB. 11 above, but breast-ornament  [legend in second quarter very faint].	As RB. 11 above, but slight difference in the epigraphy of date. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 15.</b>
ANS. 32		AR .95	As above, but breast-ornament  ; margin  additional outer circle.	As above; small crescent l. and r. of flames; margin instead of triangle of pellets in each quarter has a fleur-de-lys; additional outer circle [margin obscured r.]. <b>Pl. XXVII. 16.</b>

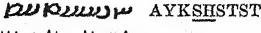
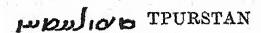
313. H. O. Cureton 1847.

RB. 11. Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford.

ANS. 32. American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

Z. 8. Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester.

U. 19. Unvala Collection.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
314	28.9 1.87	AR .95	Year 143 = A.H. 178 As ANS. 32 above, but breast-ornament :: (as on Nützel, no. 289).	As ANS. 32 above, but small vertical stroke l. and crescent r. of flames; but date SIJHILST. <b>Pl. XXVII. 17.</b>
315	29.5 1.91	AR .95	As above, but breast-ornament uncertain; legend in third quarter double-struck.	As above [obliterated in places]; mint-name cut off at end. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 16.</b>
316	31.9 2.07	AR .95	As above, but breast-ornament as on ANS. 32 above [margin obscured in fourth quarter].	As no. 314 above, but symbols l. and r. of flames uncertain. <b>Pl. XXXIX. 17.</b>
ANS. 33		AR .95	As above.	As above, but small crescent l. and r. of flames. <b>Pl. XXVII. 18.</b>
Ties. 4 (Fig. 9)	28.9 1.87	AR .95	Year 161 = A.H. 197 Same type as on the coins of Sulaimān above, p. 144, only instead of his name-legend the word AFZUT; margin in Kufic and Pehlevi script   دو الرياستين (* ۳۰۷ * ۰۷ (* الفضل بن سهل (al-Fadl ibn Sahl Lord of the Two Commands)	Instead of the usual Sasanian fire-altar and attendants four lines of alternate Pehlevi and Arabic separated by palm-branch:  لا إله إلا الله Muhammad rasūl Allāh  TPURSTAN (161: There is no God except Allāh: Tabaristān).

314. Parkes Weber Gift 1906.

ANS. 33. American Numismatic Society, New York.

315. C. C. Brown Douglas 1886.

Ties. 4. See note at end.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
U. 20 (FIG. 9A)			<i>Gold Coinage (?)</i>	
				FIG. 9 A
U. 21			<i>Year ?</i>	
			Unvala (p. 9, Pl.) has drawn attention to a coin of the AFZUT type struck in gold which was recently acquired from Baghdad by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. It resembles the usual silver type described above particularly nos. 305-7 above, in which the breast ornament has coalesced into a star. I have not had an opportunity of examining the coin itself but, as in the case of other so-called gold issues of the Arab-Sassanian type, I confess I am sceptical of its genuineness. (See note to 186, p. 191.)	
			<i>Copper Coinage (?)</i>	
			<i>Year ?</i>	
			Unvala (no. 1714) has published a copper coin in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, of the AFZUT type, which he has ascribed to the year 130, though not without some misgivings because of the peculiarity of the date-legends which is apparently ١٣١٠. Personally I see no reason why this should not be a straightforward SNVT: i.e. 93 or even SST i.e. 103, in which case it would have been issued before the period of Arab rule in Tabaristān. As for Unvala's remark (p. 13) 'l'existence d'une monnaie anonyme à cette époque' (i.e. under the Ispahbads 'nous paraît être impossible', this is begging the question. As a matter of fact we have actually described (nos. 242-3, p. 125) copper coins with AFZUT in place of the name-legends dated as early as A.H. 68. Unvala seems to have been unaware of the existence of such pieces since they are not included in his recent paper in <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1937, pp. 280-96.	

### *Gold Coinage (?)*



FIG. 9 A

### Year 2

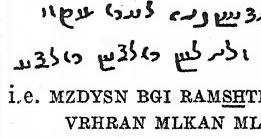
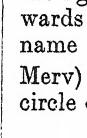
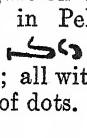
Unvala (p. 9, Pl.) has drawn attention to a coin of the AFZUT type *struck in gold* which was recently acquired from Baghdad by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. It resembles the usual silver type described above, particularly nos. 305-7 above, in which the breast-ornament has coalesced into a star. I have not had an opportunity of examining the coin itself but, as in the case of other so-called gold issues of the Arab-Sassanian type, I confess I am sceptical of its genuineness. (See note to 186, p. 191.)

### *Copper Coinage (?)*

## Year ?

U. 21

Unvala (no. 1714) has published a copper coin in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, of the AFZUT type, which he has ascribed to the year 130, though not without some misgivings because of the peculiarity of the date-legend, which is apparently **١٣٠**. Personally I see no reason why this should not be a straightforward SNVT: i.e. 93, or even SST i.e. 103, in which case it would have been issued before the period of Arab rule in Tabaristān. As for Unvala's remark (p. 13) 'l'existence d'une monnaie anonyme à cette époque' (i.e. under the Ispahbads) 'nous paraît être impossible', this is begging the question. As a matter of fact we have actually described (nos. 242-3, p. 125) copper coins with ARZUT in place of the name-legend dated as early as A.H. 68. Unvala seems to have been unaware of the existence of such pieces since they are not included in his recent paper in *Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 280-96.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse	
IV. 'ABBĀSID COINS OF BUKHĀRĀ					
a	AR 1.2	Bust of the Sassanian king Bahrām V, bearded, facing to r., wearing mural crown surmounted by crescent and globe, his hair bunched behind and bedecked with pearl ear-rings and jewelled drapery; fillet behind head; his name and titles in Pehlevi run from the top of his crown l. anticlockwise as far as the top of his crown r. as follows (in full):	<p style="text-align: center;">            i.e. MZDYSN BGI RAMSHTRI          VRHRAN MLKAN MLKA       </p> <p>(Mazda-worshipper, divine being, prosperity of the realm, Varahrān King of Kings); all within outer circle of dots [coin holed top l.].</p>	Sassanian fire-altar with top part consisting of two slabs bearing in the middle the bust of the god Hormuzd facing r. surmounted by flames; on either side facing towards the altar is the figure of a worshipper holding a lance; the altar has a base of two steps; behind the figure on the l. downwards in Pehlevi  VRHRAN; behind the figure on the r. downwards in Pehlevi mint-name  =MRW (i.e. Merv); all within an outer circle of dots.	
b. 1	48.9 3.17	AR 1.15	(b) INTERMEDIATE BUKHĀRĀN IMITATIONS (c. A.D. 632-4)	Pl. XXVIII. a.  Bust of king, similar to prototype above, facing to r.; the main changes to notice at this stage of debasement are (a) the crescent and globe above the head-dress has become a circle with central globule; (b) the bunched hair at the back of the king's head and his shoulders and breast have become represented	Fire-altar and two attendants similar to prototype above, but debased; faint remnants of the Pehlevi legends r. and l.; outer circle.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			as large pellets; (c) the Pehlevi legend has become corrupted on the left side and completely supplanted by a <u>Bukhārān</u> legend on the right (see Introduction for transcription and interpretation). The so-called <u>Khwārizmian</u> altar countermark on the left, partly over the outer circle.	Pl. XXVIII. b. 1.
b. 2	50.7 3.29	AR 1.2	As above, but Pehlevi legend l. still more abbreviated [coin pierced top and bottom and edge cut top r.].	As above, but still more debased in treatment. Pl. XXVIII. b. 2.
b. 3	36.5 2.37	AR 1.05	As above, but margin almost cut off.	As above, but margin cut off. Pl. XXVIII. b. 3.
b. 4	47.9 3.10	AR 1.2	As above, but <u>Bukhārān</u> legend r. partly defaced; Pehlevi legend l. still more abbreviated.	As above, but attendant on r. almost off the flan. Pl. XXVIII. b. 4.
<i>Coin with  legend</i>				
Var. (a). With Hormuzd head facing l.				
b. 5	48.7 3.16	AR 1.05	As preceding type, but above crown circle only, and three pellets on dress smaller and more defined; legend in corrupt Pehlevi l.; on r. legend in <u>Bukhārān</u> script; slight remains of outer margin.	As preceding type, but divine head on the altar turned l.; the whole representation reduced to a series of conventionalized pellets, strokes, and crescents. Pl. XXVIII. b. 5.
b. 6	44.5 2.88	AR .95	As above, but above crown crescent and pellet.	As above.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
b. 7	45.8 2.97	AR .95	Var. (b). With Hormuzd head facing r. As no. b. 5.	As no. b. 5, but divine head on altar turned r.
b. 8	47.1 3.05	AR .95	As above, but above crown crescent and pellet.	As above. <b>Pl. XXVIII. b. 8.</b>
<i>A. With bilingual legends</i>				
(a) <i>With name مَحَمَّد</i>				
317	45.2 2.93	Billon .95	Sassanian bust facing r. as on the foregoing types; crown surmounted by ☸: in field l. downwards in Kufic script the legend in Arabic محمد = Muḥammad; top r. downwards legend in Bukhārān script; all within a circle of dots.	Debased representation of Sassanian fire-altar with ministrant at either side facing towards the altar on which is the outline of the divine head facing r. as on the preceding types.
318	43.9 2.84	Billon .95	As above, but less distinct [die variety].	As above [die variety]. <b>Pl. XXVIII. 2.</b>
(b) <i>With name الْمَهْدَى</i>				
Var. (i). With three pellets on breast				
319	49.9 3.23	Billon .95	Bust as on no. 317; legend in Bukhārān script r. downwards as on no. 317, but legend l. downwards in Kufic script الْمَهْدَى = AL-MAHDĪ; all within circle of dots [holed bottom l.].	Debased representation of fire-altar and attendants similar to no. 317; head on altar facing r. [holed top r.].
<b>Pl. XXIX. 1.</b>				

317. Sir E. Grant Duff, K.C.M.G. presented 1917.

318. Cunningham Collection 1894.

319. Mrs. Murphy 1847.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
320	46.0 2.98	Billon 1	As above.	As above.
321	45.1 2.92	Billon 1.05	As no. 319.	As no. 319, but traces of outer margin of dots. <b>Pl. XXIX. 2.</b>
322	45.0 2.91	Billon 1	As above, but more worn [edge cut bottom r.].	As above, but badly worn.
323	43.5 2.82	Billon 1	As no. 321 [edge partly cut top l.].	As no. 321, but less distinct. <b>Pl. XXIX. 3.</b>
324	43.3 2.81	Billon 1.05	As above, but more worn.	As above, but less distinct.
325	43.2 2.80	Billon 1	As above, but clearer.	As above, but clearer.
326	41.9 2.72	Billon 1	As above, but more distinct.	As above. <b>Pl. XXIX. 4.</b>
327	41.6 2.70	Billon 1.05	As above, but more worn.	As above.
328	41.2 2.66	Billon .95	As above, but badly worn.	As above, but badly worn.
329	36.3 2.35	Billon .95	As above [quite copper colour].	As above, but head on the altar turned to l. as on no. b. 5 above.
330	31.0 2.00	Billon 1	As above, but figure and legends worn smooth.	As no. 328.

320. Claude Stewart 1848.

321. Major Hay 1860.

322, 323. Cunningham Collection 1894.

325. Major Hay 1860.

324. Cunningham Collection 1857.

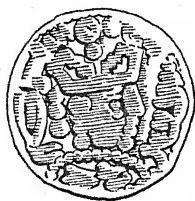
327. Parkes Weber Gift 1906.

326. Cunningham Collection 1894.

329. Dr. I. Pietraszewski (*Sotheby*) 1853.

328. Major Hay 1860.

330. Cunningham Collection 1894.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
331	35.8 2.32	Billon .95	As above.	As above.
332	39.3 2.55	Billon .95	As above; particularly worn bottom r.	As above.
333	38.8 2.51	Billon 1	As no. 319, but Bukhārān legend coalescing at the end with the pellets of the neck bottom r.	As above.  <b>Pl. XXIX. 5.</b>
334	39.2 2.54	Billon 1	As above, but Bukhārān legend has quite lost its last letter.	As above.  <b>Pl. XXIX. 6.</b>
335	38.4 2.49	Billon 1.05	As above, but more worn.	As above.
336	36.1 2.34	Billon 1	As above.	As above.
337	32.4 2.10	Billon 1	As above.	As above.
Var. (ii). With Arabic legend on breast				
AF. 1 (Fig. 10)	Billon 1.1			As no. 319 above.  <b>FIG. 10</b>

331, 332. Colonel Lafont (before 1839).

333. Prinsep 1847.

334. Cunningham Collection 1894.

335. Da Cunha 1890.

336, 337. Freudenthal Collection 1870. There was an example in the Oliver Collection (*Schulman*, Nov., 1907, no. 734).

AF. 1. Colonel Allotte de la Fuyé's Collection, Versailles.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			(c) <i>With legend</i> <b>الْمَهْدُوُّ الْفَضْلُ لِلَّهِ</b>	
Ties. 5 (Fig. 11)	Billon 1.1		As no. 319 above, but with circle instead of star and crescent over crown, and with Kufic legend downwards l. <b>الْمَهْدُوُّ الْفَضْلُ لِلَّهِ</b> (= AL-MAHDI ; AL-FADL ; excellent!).	As no. 319 above.
I. 57 (Fig. 12)	Billon 1.1		(d) <i>With legend</i> <b>مَهْدِيَةُ الْخَلِيفَةِ مُوسَى</b>	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
338	48.2 3.12	Billon 1.1	(e) <i>With legend</i> Mehdiya of the Caliph Hārūn. As on no. 319 above, but circle and pellet above crown, and Kufic legend l. downwards Mehdiya of the Caliph Hārūn. (= Mahdiya of the Caliph Hārūn).	As on no. 319 above.  Pl. XXIX. 7.
339	41.0 2.65	Billon 1.05	As above.	As above.  Pl. XXIX. 8.
340	49.1 3.18	Billon 1.05	As above.	As above.
341	47.6 3.08	Billon 1	As above.	As above.
342	47.1 3.05	Billon 1.05	As above [Kufic legend very clear].	As above.  Pl. XXIX. 9.
343	46.2 2.99	Billon 1.05	As above.	As above.  Pl. XXIX. 10.
B. <i>With Arabic legends</i>				
Var. (i)				
344	45.8 2.97	Billon 1.05	Sassanian type of bust similar to above facing r., but above the crown a pellet only; complete absence of legends in Bukhārān script; the customary three large pellets on the breast are displaced by part of the Kufic legend which runs anti-clockwise round the field beginning at the bottom r. corner:  بسم الله محمد رسول الله محمدية مما امر به الامين على سليمان لله	Usual debased representation of Sassanian fire-altar with ministrant at either side facing the altar on which is the outline of the divine head facing r. as on the preceding types; traces of outer dotted circle at bottom.  Pl. XXIX. 11.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
345	44.6 2.89	Billon 1	As above.	As above. Pl. XXIX. 12.
346	41.7 2.70	Billon 1.05	As above, but not so clear.	As above.
347	34.2 2.22	Billon 1	As above [margin cut at top l.].	As above.
348	58.4 3.78	Billon 1	As above [flan thicker than usual].	As above.
349	41.1 2.66	Billon 1	As above.	As above.
350	40.4 2.62	Billon .95	As above.	As above. Var. (ii)
Nej. 1 (Fig. 13)			<p>Similar to the foregoing, but Kufic legend which runs anti-clockwise from the bottom r. is:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">بِسْمِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ الْخَاقَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ [? —] أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ</p> <p>the last part of the last word <b>منِين</b> occupies the breast segment formerly occupied by three large pellets as on most of the earlier types.</p>	<p>Similar to the foregoing.</p>

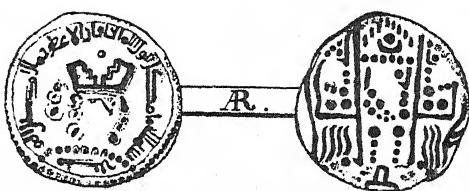


FIG. 13

345. Cunningham Collection 1894.

347. India Office Collection presented 1882.

349, 350. Cunningham Collection 1894. There was an example in the Oliver Collection (Schulman, Nov., 1907, no. 735.).

346. Major Hay 1860.

348. Mrs. Brereton 1859.

Nej. 1. Nejelow Collection at Kazan.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
			V. ISOLATED COINS OF ARAB-SASSANIAN TYPE	
			A. UNCERTAIN PERIOD (Umayyad or 'Abbāsid) (i) <i>Without governor's name</i>	
351 (Fig. 14)	36.0 2.33	Æ .75	Sassanian bust r. wearing crown with spreading wings but badly obliterated; traces before face of Pehlevi legend AFZUT; behind the head as on the coins of the preceding series AFZUT/GDH; all within outer circle of dots.	In place of the usual Sasanian fire-altar and attendants three lines of legend, the first in Kufic, the other two in Pehlevi script: current (ج) NIVKI ? AFZUT outer circle of dots.
352 (Fig. 15)	29.6 1.92	Æ .7	As above, but some details a little less obliterated.	As above, but legend retrograde.

351. Capt. Houghton 1846.

352. Sir A. H. McMahon presented 1912.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
(ii) <i>With name of governor in Pehlevi</i>				
Sūsa				
U. 22 (Fig. 16)	Æ .8		<p>Unvala (<i>Num. Chron.</i>, 1937, p. 287, no. 5) has described a copper coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale found during the recent excavation at Sūsa. The following is his description :</p> <p>Bust facing, after that of Khusrau II, profile to l.; neck long and thin; l. uncertain Pehlevi name-legends; r. ..; traces of outer circle of dots.</p>	<p>In the field bilingual legend Kufic and Pehlevi in three lines :</p> <p>In the name of Allah ! Sūsa (<u>SHUSH</u>) current (RUBAK);</p> <p>traces of outer circle, divided into four equal segments by four annulets, of which only one is on the flan.</p>
			<p>As in the case of the foregoing specimens the presence of the Arabic legend fixes the date of the coin as somewhere after the conquest of Irān by the Muhammadans. In all probability it belongs to the Umayyad period. I have not seen the actual coin. The last line of the reverse legend is the equivalent in Pehlevi of the Arabic رَبْعَةٌ on coins nos. 351-2 above.</p>	

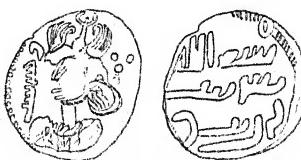


FIG. 16

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
B. 44 (Fig. 17)	Æ .8		<p>(iii) <i>With name of governor in Arabic</i></p> <p>(a) <u>Khālid ibn 'Abbād</u> (?)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">خالد بن عباد</p> 	<p>Mint ( ? )</p> <p>Year ?</p> <p>Small bust of Sassanian type facing, wearing winged head-dress ; breast-ornamentation ribbed; Pehlevi legend on l. as on the usual Arab-Sassanian coins AFZUT/GDH ; r. downwards in Kufic script name-legends</p> <p style="text-align: center;">خالد بن KHĀLID IBN 'Abbād</p> <p>margin reading counter-clockwise beginning in third quarter and ending in second</p> <p style="text-align: center;">دَلِيل مَوْلَى</p> <p>(meaning uncertain); the field is enclosed by one circle only.</p>

B. 44. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 294, Pl. III).

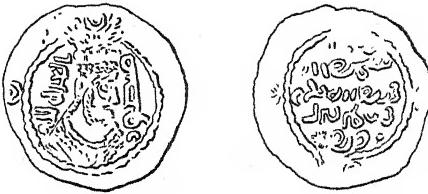
No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
U. 23 (Fig. 18)			(β) Mansur (منصور)	

FIG. 18

Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe published in 1928 (*Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, xx, p. 75, fig. 5) a remarkable coin of Arab-Sassanian type found at Ištakhr (Persepolis). A more exact reproduction and description of the original has since been published by Unvala in his article mentioned above (pp. 294–5, no. 29); fig. 18 is based on this. The coin is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The following is a translation of the description as given by Unvala:

Bust of Khusrav II facing, profile to r.; Kufic legend r.

العزّة لـ MANŞUR; l. منصور

Glory belongs to Allah! circle of dots all round; margin has four stars and crescents of which only the one on the l. is not obliterated.

In the field Pehlevi legend in five lines:

— DAT:PIRUJ  
— MNSUR  
?

circle of dots all round; margin has four star and crescents of which only that on the left is not obliterated.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size	Obverse	Reverse
I. 58 (Fig. 19)	AR .85		<p>B. 'ABBĀSID PERIOD</p> <p><i>Tabaristān Type</i></p> <p>Al-Raiy (الرَّيْ) (اُلْرَى)</p> <p>Governor uncertain</p> <p>Nuṣair? (نصير?)</p>  	<p>Year 168</p> <p>Usual Sassanian bust, etc., as on the coins of the 'Abbāsid governors of Tabaristān (see above, p. 133 f.) ; breast-ornament . . . ; name-legend in Pehlevi نسیر = NSIR (?) ; margin بالرے سنه شمان وستين ومهه (i.e. in al-Raiy in the year 168).</p> <p>Usual Sassanian fire-altar and attendants as on the Tabaristān coins ; small star l. and r. of flames ; legend in Arabic beginning on l. and finishing on the r.</p>

I. 58. Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, no. 46).

## NOTES

P. 3. 1. This coin was illustrated by Lane Poole in *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, ed. by W. Wright for the Palaeographical Society, London, 1875-83, Plate XXII. He interpreted the Arabic legend in the margin as a proper name, Khālid (خالد *scriptio defectiva* for خالد). Epigraphically the interpretation I have offered above is more probable. (See also note to B. 1 below.) The word is the Arabic equivalent of the Pehlevi word 𐭃 AFD which first appeared on the coins of Khusrau II's eleventh year, and which is still found on the coins struck by the Arab Governors in Tabaristān. (See p. 130.) The Arabic writers on metrology distinguish a good (جيد) dirham from a base one (زيف); plural جیاد and زیوف respectively.

P. 3. Th. 1. The only other recorded example of this mint and date is Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1880, p. 160, no. 559), although he gave no indication of the presence of the unusual marginal legend. The coin was in his own cabinet.

P. 3. B. 1. The remarkable marginal legend was read by Nützel as حمد, i.e. 'Praise'. See note to no. 1 above. He also considered the mint uncertain.

P. 4. 3. The mint-signature of this coin has usually been interpreted as IZD = Yezd, e.g. *Nützel*, nos. 80-3. For reasons which are stated in the Introduction (Mint Notes) I prefer to read it now as SK (i.e. Sakastān = Sistān). The epigraphy of the obverse marginal legend betrays the fact that the engraver was more familiar with Pehlevi than Kufic script, or alternatively that the old punches used in producing the Pehlevi characters on the die were utilized to represent the new Kufic script.

P. 5. I. 1. A similar mistake in attribution is made in the Izzet Bey Catalogue, pp. ۲-۴, nos. 1-3 bis, where coins of Khusrau II type said to be of the mint of Herāt (HRA) and dated 20 are credited with the remarkable Kufic marginal legend بس الله والحمد لله! In fact the whole fifteen Arab-Sassanian coins recorded in the Izzet Bey Catalogue are alike fantastically interpreted and the descriptions are without scientific value.

P. 6. 11. This is the coin mentioned by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1850, p. 505; 1854, pp. 149-50, no. 748). Cf. Leitzmann, *Numismatische Zeitung*, 1850, p. 10. Mordtmann (*ibid.*, 1850, p. 96, no. 3) mentioned one of this year with mint-signature no. 6 = AIRA, which he read as *Hira*. Cf. Tiesenhausen (*Catalogue*, no. 67). The coin was also in the Ismail Pasha Collection.

P. 6. ANS. 1. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 84, no. 2) recorded a similar example in the Cabinet of Subhi Pasha. Amongst the recent acquisitions of the Istanbul Museum I have seen another with the date also written defectively as here.

P. 6. 12. Amongst the recent acquisitions of the Istanbul Museum I have seen a specimen of this mint but with the date written correctly as on coin no. 11. This, in my opinion, is the earliest known specimen of the Muhammadan coinage of Raiy. See Introduction (Mint Notes).

P. 6. B. 2. Cf. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 84, no. 1) who read the mint-signature as WH = Bihkobad. There is a specimen in the Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem, on which the date is defectively written as on ANS. 1 above.

P. 8. M. 5. Djevdet-Éfendi (*J.A.*, 1862, p. 185) reported a coin in the Subhi Bey Collection of this date with the marginal legend ﷺ. The mint-signature was read as Hertek. This interpretation is certainly wrong. Whatever the mint was, the coin was certainly of a later date judging by the marginal legend.

P. 10. 14. Cf. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 485, no. 68) and *Nützel*, no. 90. The example mentioned by Nesselmann (*Die orientalischen Münzen*, p. 11) of this year and mint is not Arab-Sassanian at all, although Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 464, no. 151) thought it was. The marginal legend is Pehlevi and not Kufic, and the coin is a regular issue of Khusrau II's thirtieth year.

P. 10. ETN. 4. In the same collection there is another example but with margin partly obliterated and edge clipped, which came from the Michael Sale (*Schulman*, March, 1914, p. 28, no. 388). Mordtmann recorded another specimen in the cabinet of S. Alishan (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 464, no. 152) but wrongly equated the mint-signature with Damegan.

P. 12. 18. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 282) = Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 150, no. 750). The mint-signature was, however, wrongly interpreted. Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 6, no. 5 A) gives the correct identification, but whether the date is according to the Hijra, as he takes it, or according to the Yezdigird era is uncertain. See Introduction (Mint Notes).

P. 13. 20. See Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 282) and Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 150, no. 752; 1879, p. 85, no. 10). The latter suggested the mint Jundai Sâbûr (Gondischapur) represented by zu.

P. 15. I. 8. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1858, p. 49, no. 289) records one of this year in the Subhi Pasha Collection with apparently the mint-signature no. 43 = NH and the marginal legend ﷺ only. See Tiesenhausen, no. 81. The marginal legend on the coin recorded by Djevdet-Éfendi (in *J.A.*, 1862, p. 185) of this year is certainly misread.

P. 15. RB. 3. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 464, no. 153) records a specimen in the Subhi Pasha Collection of this year and mint-signature, which he interpreted as ZD = Zadracarta. Apparently, however, he changed his mind in the interim, because in 1879 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 85, no. 14) he classes it under Yezd (i.e. the old reading of mint-signature no. 52), in which case, if correctly attributed, it would be a variant of coin no. 21 above. There was, apparently, no GDH l. of AFZUT in the obverse, and in place of the usual *basmala* as marginal legend there was a Kufic legend which Mordtmann quite mistakenly transcribed as ﷺ, (i.e. Friend of Allah) and regarded as evidence of Shi'a influence. Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 6, no. 6 B) has accepted this last deduction since he refers to 'Ali's appointment of a Raiy governor in A.H. 37. As for the era of the date see Introduction (Mint Notes). The coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Lavoix*, no. 138) has been similarly misinterpreted. See P. 1, p. 15.

P. 15. P. 1. Lavoix, like Mordtmann (see the note to RB. 3 above) misinterpreted the marginal legend and the mint-signature. The first letter of the

former has been reversed, and the additional letter in the word **ال** is no doubt due to the use of Pehlevi punches in preparing the die.

P. 16. ETN. 5. This was the date proposed by the late Howland Wood when he sent me the cast. Unfortunately the end of the date is none too clear. It is just possible that it should be read as 48 (cf. Catalogue, nos. 26-9). I have not seen the actual coin. Djevdet-Efendi (*J.A.*, 1862, p. 185) recorded a coin of this year with the same marginal legend.

P. 17. I. 9. In Ghaleb Edhem's *Catalogue* (no. 5) this coin is dated 43. There is a close resemblance between the two dates in Pehlevi. Cf. note to B. 3 below.

P. 18. ANS. 3. This is the actual specimen from the Michael Sale (*Schulman*, March, 1914, p. 28, no. 389) where it was dated 35 and the margin wrongly read as *bismillahi al-mahdi*.

P. 19. 23. = Thomas [*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 283 (d)] = Tiesenhausen, no. 92. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 86, Pl. I, which has a pellet in the first quarter of the reverse margin. The coin described by Olshausen (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1847, pp. 334-5) as of the year 27 is really the same as the foregoing.

P. 19. 24. I have, however, seen a specimen with similar mint-signature and date in the Osman Arıdağ collection in Istanbul, which clearly shows the word **ال** in the third quarter which is missing from the above. This is similar to *Nützel*, no. 91, which is wrongly dated 37.

P. 20. RB. 4. There is a specimen of this mint and date illustrated in the Copenhagen Catalogue (*Østrup*, no. 62, Pl. I), wt. 3.52 gr. The coin in Paris catalogued by Lavoix (no. 137) as having *date illisible* is almost certainly of this year. It is the same as no. 25, but has a triangle of dots above the star and crescent in the margin on the r.

P. 20. ANS. 4. There is a specimen in the collection of the White Fathers at St. Anne's, Jerusalem, which has the date more complete **HSHTJHL**.

P. 21. 29. Coins of this date are apt to be interpreted as of the year 28 or 38. See above, p. 8.

P. 21. 30. Cf. *Nützel*, nos. 87-8; *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 433.

P. 21. 32. This is no doubt the coin known to Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 282) although his reading of the mint-signature was wrong.

P. 21. 34. The specimen in the Berlin Cabinet (*Nützel*, no. 89) has the date written **هرمز=PNJA**. This is the coin recorded by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 86, no. 20) where it is wrongly attributed by him to the Mint of Baṣra (BJRA). In the Osman Arıdağ collection in Istanbul I saw an example with pellets in the margin, thus: • **هرمز** \* **ال** \*

P. 22. Th. 3. The style of this and the following coin bears a close resemblance to that of Th. 2 described above, the date of which I have read as 45.

P. 23. I. 11. This coin, part of an unpublished hoard, I was privileged to examine in the Istanbul Cabinet. This is the first recorded example of such a reverse marginal legend. Unfortunately I have been unable to illustrate the coin.

P. 23. N. 1. See note DD. 1 below. There is a similar example in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

P. 23. DD. 1. This remarkable coin was first published by the writer in *Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 292-4, Pl. IX, no. 6.

P. 6. B. 2. Cf. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 84, no. 1) who read the mint-signature as WH = Bihkobad. There is a specimen in the Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem, on which the date is defectively written as on ANS. 1 above.

P. 8. M. 5. Djevdet-Éfendi (*J.A.*, 1862, p. 185) reported a coin in the Subhi Bey Collection of this date with the marginal legend ﷺ. The mint-signature was read as Hertek. This interpretation is certainly wrong. Whatever the mint was, the coin was certainly of a later date judging by the marginal legend.

P. 10. 14. Cf. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 485, no. 68) and *Nützel*, no. 90. The example mentioned by Nesselmann (*Die orientalischen Münzen*, p. 11) of this year and mint is not Arab-Sassanian at all, although Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 464, no. 151) thought it was. The marginal legend is Pehlevi and not Kufic, and the coin is a regular issue of Khusrau II's thirtieth year.

P. 10. ETN. 4. In the same collection there is another example but with margin partly obliterated and edge clipped, which came from the Michael Sale (*Schulman*, March, 1914, p. 28, no. 388). Mordtmann recorded another specimen in the cabinet of S. Alishan (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 464, no. 152) but wrongly equated the mint-signature with Damegan.

P. 12. 18. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 282) = Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 150, no. 750). The mint-signature was, however, wrongly interpreted. Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 6, no. 5 A) gives the correct identification, but whether the date is according to the Hijra, as he takes it, or according to the Yezdigird era is uncertain. See Introduction (Mint Notes).

P. 13. 20. See Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 282) and Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 150, no. 752; 1879, p. 85, no. 10). The latter suggested the mint Jundai Sâbûr (Gondischapur) represented by zu.

P. 15. I. 8. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1858, p. 49, no. 289) records one of this year in the Subhi Pasha Collection with apparently the mint-signature no. 43 = NH and the marginal legend ﷺ only. See Tiesenhausen, no. 81. The marginal legend on the coin recorded by Djevdet-Éfendi (in *J.A.*, 1862, p. 185) of this year is certainly misread.

P. 15. RB. 3. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 464, no. 153) records a specimen in the Subhi Pasha Collection of this year and mint-signature, which he interpreted as zd = Zadracarta. Apparently, however, he changed his mind in the interim, because in 1879 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 85, no. 14) he classes it under Yezd (i.e. the old reading of mint-signature no. 52), in which case, if correctly attributed, it would be a variant of coin no. 21 above. There was, apparently, no GDH l. of AFZUT in the obverse, and in place of the usual *basmala* as marginal legend there was a Kufic legend which Mordtmann quite mistakenly transcribed as ﷺ (i.e. Friend of Allah) and regarded as evidence of Shi'a influence. Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 6, no. 6 B) has accepted this last deduction since he refers to 'Ali's appointment of a Raiy governor in A.H. 37. As for the era of the date see Introduction (Mint Notes). The coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Lavoix*, no. 138) has been similarly misinterpreted. See P. 1, p. 15.

P. 15. P. 1. Lavoix, like Mordtmann (see the note to RB. 3 above) misinterpreted the marginal legend and the mint-signature. The first letter of the

former has been reversed, and the additional letter in the word ۴۱ is no doubt due to the use of Pehlevi punches in preparing the die.

P. 16. ETN. 5. This was the date proposed by the late Howland Wood when he sent me the cast. Unfortunately the end of the date is none too clear. It is just possible that it should be read as 48 (cf. Catalogue, nos. 26-9). I have not seen the actual coin. Djevdet-Efendi (*J.A.*, 1862, p. 185) recorded a coin of this year with the same marginal legend.

P. 17. I. 9. In Ghaleb Edhem's Catalogue (no. 5) this coin is dated 43. There is a close resemblance between the two dates in Pehlevi. Cf. note to B. 3 below.

P. 18. ANS. 3. This is the actual specimen from the Michael Sale (*Schulman*, March, 1914, p. 28, no. 389) where it was dated 35 and the margin wrongly read as *bismillāhi al-mahdi*.

P. 19. 23. = Thomas [*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 283 (d)] = Tiesenhausen, no. 92. Cf. Nützel, no. 86, Pl. I, which has a pellet in the first quarter of the reverse margin. The coin described by Olshausen (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1847, pp. 334-5) as of the year 27 is really the same as the foregoing.

P. 19. 24. I have, however, seen a specimen with similar mint-signature and date in the Osman Arıdağ collection in Istanbul, which clearly shows the word ۲۴ in the third quarter which is missing from the above. This is similar to Nützel, no. 91, which is wrongly dated 37.

P. 20. RB. 4. There is a specimen of this mint and date illustrated in the Copenhagen Catalogue (*Østrup*, no. 62, Pl. I), wt. 3.52 gr. The coin in Paris catalogued by Lavoix (no. 137) as having *date illisible* is almost certainly of this year. It is the same as no. 25, but has a triangle of dots above the star and crescent in the margin on the r.

P. 20. ANS. 4. There is a specimen in the collection of the White Fathers at St. Anne's, Jerusalem, which has the date more complete ۳۷ هـ.

P. 21. 29. Coins of this date are apt to be interpreted as of the year 28 or 38. See above, p. 8.

P. 21. 30. Cf. Nützel, nos. 87-8; *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 433.

P. 21. 32. This is no doubt the coin known to Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 282) although his reading of the mint-signature was wrong.

P. 21. 34. The specimen in the Berlin Cabinet (Nützel, no. 89) has the date written ۲۹ هـ = PNJA. This is the coin recorded by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 86, no. 20) where it is wrongly attributed by him to the Mint of Basra (BÝRA). In the Osman Arıdağ collection in Istanbul I saw an example with pellets in the margin, thus: • ۲۹ هـ • ۴۱ هـ •

P. 22. Th. 3. The style of this and the following coin bears a close resemblance to that of Th. 2 described above, the date of which I have read as 45.

P. 23. I. 11. This coin, part of an unpublished hoard, I was privileged to examine in the Istanbul Cabinet. This is the first recorded example of such a reverse marginal legend. Unfortunately I have been unable to illustrate the coin.

P. 23. N. 1. See note DD. 1 below. There is a similar example in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

P. 23. DD. 1. This remarkable coin was first published by the writer in *Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 292-4, Pl. IX, no. 6.

P. 24. I. 12. This is the first example to be published with the name of Hormuzd IV and with Arabic legends demonstrating that it was struck during the Muhammadan period. The unusual head-dress of the attendants is not only paralleled on the prototype γ (p. 2) but is also to be seen on the coins of the Isphahbads of Tabaristān described on p. 130. See also B. 39, p. 124, and note p. 201; also note p. 131 c. at end.

P. 25. Zub. 1. This remarkable coin was first published by Nützel (*Trudy Moskowskago Numismaticheskago Obshchestwa*, iii, pp. 156–9, Pl. V, 1). Coins with Arab-Byzantine obverses and Pehlevi legends such as those which have been recently published by Unvala (*Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 287–92) will be included in a subsequent volume dealing with Muhammadan Coins of Arab-Byzantine type.

P. 25. 35. De Morgan (*Rev. Num.*, 1907, pp. 86–7) describes another example in his own collection which he dates as 43 but which is really as the above. The coin described by Markoff (*Catalogue des monnaies arsaciennes, &c.*, p. 129, no. 47) as reading Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān in Pehlevi ought to be ascribed to Mu‘āwiya's brother Ziyād (see no. 58, p. 40).

P. 26. B. 3. The first—and for a long time the only—known coin bearing the name of the Caliph Mu‘āwiya was that published by Soret (*Lettre à M. Olshausen*, p. 8) in 1846. See Olshausen (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1847, p. 334). This coin passed into the Jena cabinet (see Stickel, *Handbuch*, ii, pp. 85–6, no. 41). Mordtmann also mentioned it (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1850, p. 506, no. 2; 1854, p. 156, no. 786) and Tiesenhausen (no. 25). In each case the date was read as  $\text{س} \text{ج} \text{ه}$ , i.e. 43, as in the case also of the Berlin specimen, instead of as  $\text{ي} \text{ا} \text{ج} \text{ه}$  = 41. The same facile mistake is to be found in Müller (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, p. 349). His reproduction and interpretation are repeated by K. A. C. Creswell in his *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, p. 95.

P. 27. 37. This is the coin published by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 319, no. 65, Pl. III, fig. xxiv = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 167, no. 849). By a printer's error the weight was given as 74·5 grs. See Thomas's additional remarks on the coin in *J.R.A.S.*, 1852, pp. 412 ff. A complete specimen of the same mint is illustrated by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1871, Pl. I, no. 7 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 89, no. 32) where the date is clearly engraved on his plate as  $\text{ه} \text{ف} \text{ت} \text{ا} \text{ت} = 70$ , although in other respects it is the same as the coin described above and dated 73. As can be seen from Pl. V. 4 the British Museum coin has the Pehlevi digit  $\text{س} \text{و}$  =  $\text{s} \text{i}$  usurping the place of the fillet which normally rises from the right shoulder of the attendant on the left of the altar. It is just possible that the engraver of the coin illustrated by Thomas was misled by this and drew the digit as the missing fillet. A photograph would have decided the matter. The coin in question was in the J. R. Steuart collection but its present whereabouts is unknown to me.

P. 28. C. 3. Tornberg (*Symbolae*, iii, p. 24, no. 62, Pl. I, no. 3) published a coin of this mint and date in 1856. See also Dorn (*Mélanges*, ii, p. 260) and Tiesenhausen (no. 135). The date on Tornberg's plate was engraved as  $\text{ه} \text{ذ} \text{ل} \text{ل} \text{ل}$ , which is a defective form of  $\text{ش} \text{ه} \text{ش} \text{ت} = 60$ . Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1864, p. 473, no. 164) recorded an example in the Alishan Collection. In this case the date was given as  $\text{ه} \text{ذ} \text{ل} \text{ل}$ . I observed another specimen in the Osman Aridağ Collection, Istanbul. The coin ascribed to 'Abd al-Malik of this mint and date in the

Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, no. 16) is actually one of 'Abdallâh ibn al-Zubair as *Amîr* (see no. 47, p. 35). The difficulty that troubled Tornberg in connexion with the date is resolved by equating it in terms of the Yezdigird era which was commonly in use at the Dârâbjird mint.

P. 28. Asc. 1. The unusual mint-signature may be the same as the one mentioned, but not reproduced, by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 89, no. 31) and read by him as DARAB.

P. 28. P. 2. Lavoix, however, considered it a Hijra date. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 89, no. 31) recorded a coin in his own cabinet of this mint and date. Apparently the mint-signature was DARAB; but as it was not illustrated it is impossible to be certain of its form. It might have been similar to the one recorded by Ascoli mentioned above (Asc. 1).

P. 29. Cam. 1. This is the coin from the Masson Collection described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 312, no. 45 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 167, no. 850 = Tiesenhausen, no. 233). It is here reproduced for the first time by kind permission of the authorities of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Dorn (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, ii, p. 261) mentions a coin of 'Abd al-Malik in the Ermitage Museum dated 75 but he gives no further particulars as to mint or name-legends.

P. 30. B. 4. There is a coin obviously of this governor and of this mint and date illustrated in Tornberg's *Symbolae*, iii, pp. 24-5, no. 63, Pl. I. 2 = Tiesenhausen, no. 184. Tornberg completely misinterpreted the legends.

P. 30. 38. (ex Masson = Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 317, no. 56, Pl. III, fig. xvii.)

P. 30. Z. 1. This is the same coin illustrated in the Michael Sale Catalogue (*Schulman*, March, 1914, p. 28, no. 392, Pl. I).

P. 31. B. 5. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 297, no. 24, Pl. II, fig. iv) when it was in the General Fox Collection = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, pp. 160-1, no. 806. Nützel has wrongly read the date as SHST=60 and taken it as a date in the Yezdigird era.

P. 31. J. 1. The coin recorded by Bartholomaei (*Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1864, p. 327, fig. 25) is apparently a similar example though the date is mistakenly given as 97. Only the Pehlevi legend in the margin, however, is reproduced.

P. 33. ANS. 7, 8. There is an example in the Istanbul Museum which has the date clearly as on ANS. 7. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1852, p. 412) published one in his own collection. A specimen of this mint and date was in the Strauss Sale (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, p. 62, no. 993). It is certain that the coin described by Markoff (*Cat. des monnaies arsaciades, &c.*, p. 128, no. 45) has a date legend similar to the above, and cannot possibly be read as DVĀJPNJA i.e. 52 as he has done. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 472, no. 161) described an example of the same mint and date. The coins ascribed by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 316) and Nützel (*Cat.*, no. 146) to this year ought to be dated 54. See nos. 42 and 43 below.

P. 33. 42. Cf. *Berlin Museum Catalogue*, no. 146, where the date is ~~—~~<sup>—</sup> 52 = JHPNJA, though Nützel read it as 53.

P. 34. 43. = Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 316, no. 53, Pl. III, fig. xv = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 160, no. 803. The latter read the date correctly as 54.

P. 34. 44. The date on the Berlin specimen (*Nützel*, no. 147) appears to approximate to this one.

P. 35. 46. In the Strauss Sale (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, p. 62, no. 995) another example is recorded, but the reverse marginal legend is wrongly interpreted as the Arabic **ل** *killāh*. Cf. Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 88, no. 26.

P. 35. Th. 6. Cf. Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1848, pp. 111-12; 1854, p. 160, no. 804, Pl. IX, no. 33; 1879, p. 88, no. 27. He also records (*ibid.*, 1879, p. 89, no. 29) a specimen in his own collection which had the *o* r. of the fire-altar.

P. 35. 47. This is similar to the coin described by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 89, no. 28) in the von Prokesch-Osten Collection. Of three coins of this mint and date in the Istanbul Museum one is as the above, while the other two have DA as the mint-signature. These latter are nos. 16 and 17 of the Catalogue of Ghalib Edhem who, however, attributed them in error to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, nos. 148-9), are two specimens, one with DA and one as above. Djevdet-Efendi (in *J.A.*, 1862, p. 185) also recorded one of this year which he wrongly regarded as in terms of the Hijra. There is one of this date in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Lavoix*, no. 144) which has been wrongly attributed to 62 (A.H.).

P. 35. 48. There is a similar specimen in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London. In the Strauss Sale (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, p. 62, no. 994) a coin of this mint dated 57 is mentioned. In the absence of corroborative evidence, however, I am inclined to regard this as a mistake for 67, especially as the marginal legend tallies with the above.

P. 36. 49. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 316, no. 55, Pl. III, fig. xv/4) recorded a similar specimen, with countermark no. 39, in the collection of Gen. Fox, which is now in Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 144). Cf. Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 89, no. 30, where the mint-signature is interpreted as Adharbaijan, though in his previous paper (*ibid.*, 1854, p. 161, no. 807) it was correctly equated with Istakhr (Persepolis).

P. 36. 50. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 288, no. 5) who read the mint-signature as سجش (i.e. S̄J̄SH). Valentine (p. 78) read it as ATRA. The coin described by Markoff (*op. cit.*, p. 129, no. 47) is of this date, and probably of the same mint, interpreted as ؟ هtra = HTRA. He has mistakenly ascribed the coin, however, to Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyān. Dorn (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, ii, p. 261, no. 2 = Tiesenhausen, no. 118) made the same mistake. The coin is apparently a posthumous issue. See Introduction, Biographical Sketch of Ziyād.

P. 37. Z. 3. Cf. above the coins of this mint and date with the name of Khusrau II, p. 21. I have seen another example of this year and mint in an uncatalogued collection in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 37. B. 7. In the Ethnographical Museum, Ankara, there is a similar specimen with the date in this form. Nützel, however, read this date form as YAJPNJA (யාජපන්ජා).

P. 37. ETN. 6. In the Convent of St. Anne, Jerusalem, I have seen a similar specimen with this spelling of the date, and I have also seen another example in an unpublished collection in the Istanbul Museum. This is the spelling on the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 287, no. 1) which he transliterated

as YAZPNJA (يازپنجا). The example illustrated by Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, pp. 86-7, no. 42, Pl.) besides having the date in this form, which he transliterates as YAJPNJA (ياعپنجا), has an apparent variant of the obverse marginal legend, but as the edge is somewhat clipped it is impossible to be certain of this. It may be a fault in the engraving. In the Strauss Sale (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, p. 62, no. 999) there was a coin of this mint, read as BAIZA, and of this date, which seemingly had ئ in the (obverse) margin to r. The example in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, must be similar since it shows clearly ئ in the obverse margin. In the Osman Aridağ Collection in Istanbul I saw one with margin بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.

P. 38. ANS. 9. See Tiesenhausen, no. 103 = Dorn, *Mélanges*, ii, p. 260, no. 10.

P. 38. 54. See Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 288, no. 2) and Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, pp. 87-8, no. 43).

P. 39. B. 8. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 91, no. 39) records a variant with the governor's name truncated thus: ZIYAT-I/ABUSUF (*sic*). Examples were in the Subhi Pasha Collection and in his own cabinet.

P. 39. 56. If the traditional date of Ziyād's death is accepted these are posthumous coins.

P. 40. CAM. 2. This is the same as the coin published by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 288, no. 6), who, however, only illustrated the mint, date, and name-legend (Pl. II, fig. I). There is a specimen in the Istanbul Museum. In the Osman Aridağ Collection, Istanbul, I found another on which the hair at the back of the head has become ☽ and the date is defectively written as PN(j)PNJA. These must be considered posthumous issues if the traditional date of Ziyād's death (A.H. 53) be correct.

P. 41. 59. = Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 315, no. 51) where the date was read as 43 (سیحہ), wrongly in my opinion. So Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 152, no. 763) and Tiesenhausen (no. 86). See note to 60 below.

P. 41. 60. A similar specimen but with ear-ring as on no. 58 is illustrated in v. Schrötter's *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Pl. 25, no. 408, although the date is wrongly read (p. 776) as 43 A.H.

P. 41. B. 9. Nützel read the date as 43 (سیحہ) and (on p. 382) equated it with the Hijra era. There is an example in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which has the name-legend written in a somewhat angular script.

P. 41. 61. The coin in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, ascribed by Nützel (no. 97) to this date is really the same date as no. 58 above, which I regard as being dated 41. See note to B. 9 above. The coin of this date and mint from the cabinet of S. Alishan recorded by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 465, no. 155) as having the name-legend ZIAT-I-ABUAHAN i.e. Ziyād son of his father (زياد بن ابيه) can only be regarded as a misreading of an imperfectly engraved legend. Ziyād's disputed paternity is most unlikely to have been so flagrantly proclaimed on an official issue from a mint under his control. See Introduction (Biographical Sketches).

P. 42. ETN. 7. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1858, p. 50, no. 294 = Tiesenhausen, no. 102) mentions a unique coin of this date, unfortunately not illustrated, on

which he asserts that in place of the mint-signature there is the name of ZIVAT. I suspect that the coin in question was similar to ETN. 7, or to no. 66, and that Mordtmann misinterpreted the rare mint-signature as the name of the Governor repeated on the reverse (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 90), a most improbable happening. The coin was in the Subhi Pasha Collection.

P. 42. I. 16. There was another specimen in the Strauss Sale (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, p. 62, no. 998) where the mint-signature was read as NI(SA).

P. 42. 62. A similar coin in the collection of Dr. I. Pietraszewski was the subject of Olshausen's article in Koehne's *Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, vol. iv (1844), pp. 367–71, Pl. XI. 2. The same coin is drawn on the front page of L.-L. Sawaskiewicz: *Le Génie de l'Orient*, Brussels, 1846. Cf. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 153, no. 766) where the mint-signature is read as NI(SA). An unclipped specimen in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London, weighs 60 gr. (3.88 grm.).

P. 42. C. 5. In the Copenhagen Catalogue it has been wrongly dated 52 and the mint-signature has been interpreted as NI(SA). Previous to my obtaining a cast of the above coin the sole authority for this date was Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 288, no. 4). His specimen, unfortunately not reproduced, was in the Stokes Collection.

P. 42. O. 1. Cf. the date on STA. 1 and O. 2, p. 43.

P. 43. 64. This is the coin mentioned by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 152, no. 765).

P. 43. I. 17. Dorn mentioned an example of this mint-signature and date in his *Mélanges Asiatiques* (iii, p. 628, no. b = Tiesenhausen, no. 112).

P. 43. STA. 1. Apparently this is similar to the coin recorded by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1880, p. 161, no. 562) in the Collection of Dr. Hartmann of Beirut, although it is not illustrated and is dated by him year 30. See Introduction (Mint Notes).

P. 43. O. 2. Cf. the date on O. 1 above.

P. 44. I. 19. I am far from satisfied with my suggested explanation of the date legend; cf. no. I. 20, p. 44.

P. 44. I. 20. See M. 24, p. 44.

P. 44. ETN. 8. This may be regarded as a posthumous coin if the traditional date of Ziyād's death be correct.

P. 44. Dam. 1. The only feasible explanation of this remarkable date is that an old reverse die of a Sassanian coin has been re-used many years afterwards under the Arabs.

P. 45. 65. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 90, no. 36) recorded a similar example in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Another specimen in the Windisch-Grätz Collection (*Zambaur*, p. 9, no. 5) weighed 4.05 grm. (62.5 gr.).

P. 45. I. 21. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 91, no. 37) mentioned one in the Subhi Pasha Collection.

P. 45. ETN. 9. There is another example in the Convent of St. Anne, Jerusalem.

P. 45. 66. This mint-signature which is exceedingly rare, if not unique, is not found to my knowledge in the regular Sassanian series, and I suspect that it may possibly be a variant due to defective engraving with punches of the mint-

signature no. 23 (cf. ETN. 7). There is a close resemblance in style between the two coins.

P. 46. M. 26. Mordtmann gave the date as *sījhl* (i.e. 43) but I am inclined to regard this as the usual misinterpretation of the year 41. The coin tallies, so far as mint, date, and additional pellets are concerned, with the coins already described under Mu'āwiya (nos. 35 ff.) and Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān (nos. 58 ff.) and those of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir described p. 48 (nos. 70 ff.). The coin in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, of an uncertain governor mentioned by Nützel (no. 98) is almost certainly one of Samura's of the same mint and date. See also Introduction (Biographical Sketches).

P. 46. Sch. 2. The coin in question was not properly attributed in the Catalogue, but judging from the illustration on Pl. I it certainly bore the name of Samura as described above. According to the Plate reference numbers only the obverse would appear to be illustrated, but strange to say the reverse of coin no. 2054 on the same plate agrees exactly with the reverse of the Samura coin described by Mordtmann. I have therefore no hesitation in deducing, on other grounds as well (see note to Th. 7 below), that the reverse in question has been transposed. I have restored the two in the illustration (fig. 3).

The obverse only of the same Samura dirham is illustrated also in E. Martinori: *La Moneta: Vocabolario Generale*, Rome, 1915, p. 112, but wrongly attributed to Khusrau III (591-628) [sic].

P. 47. 67. Another specimen from his own cabinet is recorded by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 98, no. 75) though he interpreted the mint-signature as *UT*.

P. 47. 68. There is a similar specimen of this year and mint in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 47. 69. There is also one in the Istanbul Museum with this transposed obverse name-legend, but with the date correctly written as on no. 68 above. I also noted an example in the Arab Museum, Damascus, on which the date was defectively written as *ūwē* i.e. *ŷHIRŷHL* (sic).

P. 48. Th. 7. Another example of this type I have noted in the Arab Museum, Damascus. In the White King Sale (*Schulman*, June, 1905, no. 2054) a coin of this governor, wrongly ascribed to Mu'āwiya, is illustrated (Pl. I) with a reverse of this mint and date. The obverse is exactly like no. 69, p. 47, of the mint of *BISH*(āpur) while the reverse tallies with the reverse of a coin of Samura ibn Jundab recorded by Mordtmann (see M. 26, p. 47). Moreover, a measurement of the diameters by means of a micrometer reveals the fact that the two sides cannot possibly belong to the same coin. The most natural deduction to make is that the reverse of the Samura coin (no. 2051) has been inadvertently allocated to the obverse of the coin of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir (no. 2054). I have restored it to its proper context above (p. 46). See note to Sch. 2 above.

P. 48. 72. There is an example of the same mint and date in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

P. 50. 74. There is also a clear specimen in the American Numismatic Society, New York.

P. 51. B. 10. In the Berlin Catalogue this date is read as *YAJSI* i.e. 31, which it closely resembles. Cf. note to SHM. 1 below.

P. 52. SHM. 1. This coin, part of a find, is illustrated in an article by Ulla S. Linder in the *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1938, fig. 2, p. 116. Unfortunately (on p. 110) the date is wrongly read as *sij-sih*, 33 (cf. note to B. 10 above), and the name-legend is mistaken as that of *Khusrau II* on the authority of no less a person than Professor Nyberg (*namnets skrivning högst sällsam och singular*!).

P. 52. 75. This unique coin was first published by the writer in *Num. Chron.*, 1935, p. 249.

P. 53. I. 23. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 93, no. 43) recorded a similar specimen in his own collection.

P. 54. J. 2. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 95, no. 65) quotes this coin, but prefers to read the date as 64. I have also noted another example of this same mint and date in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 54. B. 11. There are two specimens of this coin in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 54. I. 26. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 95, no. 64) recorded another example, in the Subhi Pasha Collection.

P. 54. ETN. 11. In the E. E. Oliver Sale (*Schulman*, Nov., 1907, no. 731, Pl.) the obverse of a coin similar to this is illustrated (with countermarks) though it is wrongly attributed to 'Ubaiddallāh's brother Salm. It was said to be of this mint-signature (interpreted as *Baba district de Merv*) and dated 60, but as the reverse is not reproduced it is impossible to vouch for this reading.

P. 55. B. 12. = Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 94, no. 55).

P. 58. 80. There was a specimen of this mint and date in the Davis Collection, Baghdad (now dispersed), on which there was a small star 1. and small crescent 1. of flames respectively on the reverse. The coin measured 1.25; and weighed 61.9 gr. (4.01 grm.). *Lavoix*, no. 139, is of the same mint and date; weight 3.94 though it is *pièce fragmentée*. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 103. See above M. 36.

P. 58. 82. Cf. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 155, no. 778; *ibid.*, 1865, p. 485, no. 70). In the former case the date is given as *NUPNJA*, but this is only Mordtmann's reconstruction of the date as reported by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 291) who merely refers to a specimen in the British Museum and another in the Masson Collection of this date without reproducing the Pehlevi form employed. Neither no. 81 nor 82 can be the particular coin quoted by Thomas.

Examples similar to no. 82 exist in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in the Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem, and in the Arab Museum, Damascus. The second is the one briefly noted by Père Paulin Lemaire in *Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 295.

P. 58. 83. A coin in the Copenhagen Museum (no. 64) is like this. It weighs 2.70 grm. (41.7 gr.). It is clipped.

P. 59. RB. 8. The specimen in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 104, Pl. II) is similar to this, only in addition it has countermark no. 11 in first quarter.

P. 59. 86. The specimen mentioned by Père Paulin Lemaire (*Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 295) in the Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem, is like the above. I also noticed two other specimens of this date in the Osman Aridağ Collection in Istanbul. One of them had the date somewhat truncated at the end so that it looked like 31 (see above, O. 3, Pl. XL. 3). There are two other specimens in the American Numismatic Society, New York, but each has been badly

clipped. There are two in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, one of which is cut. One of these may be the coin from the Masson Collection which Thomas read as of the year 68. The coins in the Berlin Museum (*Nützel*, nos. 106 and 107) and in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Lavoix*, no. 141) ought really to be dated 61 and not 68. See T. 8, p. 60.

P. 59. 87. There is a clearer specimen in the E. T. Newell Collection, New York. There was a clipped specimen in the Windisch-Grätz Collection (vol. VII. i, by E. v. Zambaur, no. 6).

P. 60. Ox. 3. Cf. date on B. 17, p. 70. There is a possibility that the digit may be for two (DU), cf. the syllable DU in the governor's name on P. 4, p. 64.

P. 60. B. 13. There is one like this in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Tremlett Bequest).

P. 60. O. 5. Previous to my seeing this coin the only record I had of an example of this mint and date was the statement of Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 291) in which he mentioned a rare example in the Masson Collection. Unfortunately it was not reproduced or even described. It may be the coin now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. See Cam. 4, p. 60.

P. 61. 89. I am strongly inclined to regard this mint-signature as a variant of that of BYRA (Başra) because of the resemblance not only in workmanship but also in such details as the :: after the ۱۰۰ in the margin and the breast-ornament ♀, but even more so the unusual form of the ear-ring ⚡.

P. 62. Cam. 5. This is apparently the coin recorded by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 290, no. 8) from the Masson Collection. According to him it weighed 58.0 gr. (3.75 grm.). He regarded the date SHSHVIST (26) as a mistake for SHSHSHST (66). Mordtmann, however (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 154, no. 772) accepted the earlier date and explained it in terms of the so-called Tabaristān era (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 96), or, as I prefer to call it, the Post-Yezdigird era. This agrees with the historical data.

P. 63. 90. Thomas published this coin (in *J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 290, no. 7 = Tiesenhausen, no. 89) but failed to note the unusual spelling of the Governor's name. There is also a similar example in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

P. 63. B. 15. There is a coin of this mint ascribed to this date by Karabacek (in *Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte*, 1865, p. 67, Pl. 2, no. 4), but the engraving of the date is not too convincing. The coin is as B. 14, p. 62, with the following differences: *obv.* small crescent and pellet over l. shoulder; *rev.* small star r. and small crescent l. of flames, and in the margin ♂ & ♀. The weight is given as 58.9 gr. (3.82 grm.).

P. 63. O. 6. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 93, no. 44) recorded a coin in his own collection of this mint and date, but unfortunately he did not illustrate it, though he stated that the marginal legend was  $\text{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم}$  which if correct is a variant of the above.

P. 63. I. 30. A similar coin was mentioned by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 93, no. 45) as being in his own cabinet, but it was not illustrated.

P. 63. 91. I have seen a similar specimen in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions) with the date thus: ~~۱۸۰۱~~ = AYUKPNJA.

P. 64. P. 4. Lavoix did not observe the change in the spelling of the

Governor's name. Another example is said to have been in the Johnston Sale (*Sotheby*, 16 July, 1906, p. 13).

P. 64. 92. Three coins of this year with this mint-signature are in the Berlin Museum (*Nützel*, nos. 112-14), but they are wrongly attributed to Yezd.

P. 64. 93. There is a better specimen, unclipped, of this variety in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London. It weighs 62.8 gr. (4.07 grm.).

P. 65. 95. ex Masson Collection = Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 291, no. 13. The same coin is illustrated in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, 1841, Pl. XVII, no. 3. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 155, no. 779) read the mint-signature as KRMANSF. See also Olshausen (*Die Pehlevi-Legenden*, 1843, pp. 53-6).

P. 66. I. 32. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 95, no. 68) described a similar coin in his own collection which, however, he dated as 69 (NAVSHST), and which would have made it a posthumous issue since 'Ubaiddallāh was killed in A.H. 67. It weighed 55.6 gr. (3.6 grm.). Unfortunately it was not illustrated. The unusual Pehlevi epithet added to the governor's name means 'Victorious'.

P. 66. 97. This is the coin recorded by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1850, p. 507, no. 10; 1854, p. 155, no. 781) who was also unable to decipher the Pehlevi legends in the first and third quarters. The extremely worn condition of the coin, particularly the obverse, renders it practically impossible to illustrate.

P. 68. I. 35. Cf. the coins of AIRAN, p. 52 f. See Introduction (Mint Notes).

P. 68. 99. Cf. Dorn's example (*Mélanges*, viii, p. 276), *Nützel*, no. 117, and Ascoli, pp. 71-2, Pls. I and II, no. 10 where, however, the mint-signature is read as zd. There is a specimen similar to this in the E. T. Newell Collection, New York, but it has the usual ear-ring ∴ on the obverse. See Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 7, no. 7 B).

P. 68. 100. = Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 6, no. 7 A). In the Davis Collection, Baghdad (now dispersed), there was a specimen of this type with usual ear-ring on obverse and with a tiny triangle of dots above the left wing of the king's head-dress. The coin measured 1.25 in. and weighed 62 gr. (4.01 grm.).

P. 69. 101. I noticed in a London sale room a similar specimen on which the Pehlevi legend in the first quarter of the margin was defectively written or. The coin weighed 63 gr. (4.08 grm.). There is a variant illustrated in Stickel (ii, Pl. 45).

P. 69. 102. See *Nützel*, nos. 118, 119; Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 7, nos. 8 A and 8 B); *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 433.

P. 69. 103. A similar, but clipped specimen with ear-ring as usual ∴ appeared in a London sale room recently; *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 433. See Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 7, nos. 9 A and 9 B).

P. 69. 104. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 94, no. 57) mentions a coin, in his own collection, of this mint-signature, which he interpreted as zd, and of this date, which apparently had another Pehlevi legend in the first quarter, namely ψιψω. Unfortunately he did not reproduce this remarkable coin.

P. 69. I. 37. I have dated this 63 with a certain amount of reservation since there is such a slight difference sometimes in the Pehlevi forms for 62 (TRINSHST) and 63 (TLTSHST). Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1858, p. 51, no. 299) recorded an example of this mint and year in the Jena Cabinet, but Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, 1870, no. 45) correctly interpreted the date as 61. (See his Plate no. 45.) The

other example mentioned by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 95, no. 62) of this date is no doubt likewise a misreading of 61. Unfortunately the absence of a reproduction leaves the matter in some doubt. Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 7, no. 10) also accepts the reading 63 for a date which, as can be seen from his Plate I of a Herzfeld coin, ought really to be read as 61, as on no. 101.

P. 69. B. 16. As 'Ubaidallāh was killed in A.H. 67, this coin must be a posthumous issue. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 95, no. 67) also ascribed to this mint and year a coin in the von Prokesch-Osten Collection.

P. 69. ANS. 11. This mint-signature is read by Mordtmann as KISHT of which he regarded the mint-signature no. 16, p. 61, as an abbreviated form, namely KSH.

P. 70. I. 38. I came across another example in the Convent of St. Anne, Jerusalem. Unfortunately I have been unable to illustrate either specimen.

P. 70. 105. I have seen another example like this one in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

P. 70. B. 17. Nützel regarded the date as uncertain. Cf. similar date on Ox. 3, p. 60, above.

P. 71. 106. I have seen a similar coin with the same unusual form of the mint-signature in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

P. 71. I. 40. In the White King Sale Catalogue (*Schulman*, June, 1905, no. 2053, Pl. I) there was a coin ascribed to this mint, with no date specified. Unfortunately only the obverse was illustrated. I am inclined to regard it as being similar to B. 22, p. 72 (Pl. XIII. 1) because of the presence in the first quarter of the margin of a Pehlevi legend which, so far as I have found, only occurs on coins of this governor struck at this mint.

P. 71. ETN. 15. There is also an example of this mint and date in the Osman Arıdağ Collection, Istanbul.

P. 72. B. 19. This is the coin from the General Fox Collection described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 291, no. 14) who read the mint-signature as YSHKAN or KSHKAN; Mordtmann, however, proposed Zangan (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 95, no. 60 b). In the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions) I came across an example of this same mint and date, which, however, showed that the margin was \* :: الله بسم. Cf. coins B. 20 and B. 21, p. 72.

P. 72. B. 21. Although the three coins described above (B. 19–21) are ascribed to separate mints by Nützel, it seems to me more than probable that they are all varieties of the same mint of which B. 19 above preserves the fullest form of the name. There are two other examples of the above variety in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 72. B. 22. This is the coin mentioned by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 93, no. 47). As I mentioned above (note to I. 40) the obverse of a coin illustrated in the White King Sale Catalogue appears to resemble the above obverse and shows the Pehlevi legend comparatively clearly as MLC(?). The only apparent differences between the two obverses are that the White King coin had a small crescent over the l. shoulder of the bust and :: at the end of the *basmala* in the margin.

P. 73. ETN. 16. There is a similar example in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

P. 73. 108. This unique *fals* was first published by the present writer in *Num. Chron.*, 1935, p. 250, Pl. XVIII. 6.

P. 73. Mar. 2. As I have not been able to see this coin or obtain a cast, the description is based on that of Markoff (*op. cit.*). Cf. O. 7, p. 74.

P. 74. O. 7. Although this mint is not represented amongst the regular coins of 'Ubaidallâh ibn Ziyâd which bear his full name, there is no reason to suppose that the coins with the name 'Ubaidallâh only were issued for any other governor, especially since the mint in question (Herât) was in that governor's jurisdiction at the date in question. I believe that the coin described by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 93, no. 48) was really similar to the above. See above M. 34, p. 53.

P. 74. 111. Nos. 110 and 111 are the coins mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 295, no. 22). Cf. *Nützel*, no. 128.

P. 75. 112. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 294, no. 18) considered the date as a corrupt rendering for 66 (SHSHSHST). This mint is no doubt the one intended by Valentine (p. 78) instead of his ~~SH~~ ST which is vouched for by none of the authorities as a mint-signature of Salm.

P. 75. 113. Cf. Thomas (*Prinsep's Essays*, i, p. 66) and note to no. 115 below.

P. 75. B. 23. It is possible that the date is HSHTSHST = 68 (A.H.).

P. 76. 115. The example of this mint and date in the Copenhagen Cabinet (*Ostrup*, no. 65) has the date clearly written thus: ~~SHSHSHST~~ = HF(T)SHST. It has to be borne in mind that a defectively written 67 as on coin no. 115 is liable to be mistaken for a 70 (~~SHSHSHST~~ = HFTAT). The specimen in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has a defective date, which could easily be read as 70.

P. 76. 117. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 136, Pl. II and 137-40.

P. 77. P. 5. This is the coin which was wrongly dated as 61 by both Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 294, footnote) and Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 97, no. 70).

P. 77. 122. ex Masson Collection = Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 293, no. 15). This is the coin which Mordtmann attributed to Sîstân (in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 158, no. 789), reading the mint-signature as *sî*, and later (in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 97) to Sûsa, reading the mint-signature as *su*. Thomas read the Pehlevi letters as *izd* and interpreted them as Yezd. Another example mentioned by Thomas is now in the Berlin Cabinet (General Fox Collection). *Nützel* (no. 141) followed Thomas's attribution. The Berlin specimen weighs 62.1 gr. (4.02 grm.).

A similar interpretation of a mint-signature on the part of Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, pp. 96-7) is no doubt his reason for his Sûsa year 54 with the marginal legend *z* (in fourth quarter) which he regarded as *ohne Zweifel der Name Selem*. Although he stated that this coin was in the Berlin Museum there is no trace of it in *Nützel's Catalogue* as such. Instead the coin described by *Nützel* (no. 141) and attributed to Yezd and dated 56 has countermarks which tally very closely with the legends recorded by Mordtmann. What the latter regarded as the Arabic for Salm is, if this is the correct deduction, none other than the countermark no. 39 badly stamped.

P. 77. 123. ex Masson Collection. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 294; cf. Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 158, no. 790).

Thomas read the date as ~~١٢٤٥~~<sup>١٢٤٦</sup> = TLTSH(s)T i.e. 63 (cf. C. 6, p. 82). Mordtmann suggested reading the countermark no. 52 as 'Istakhr in Persia'.

P. 78. 126. There is an example in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, on which the date is similarly written, but the obverse has small crescent over l. shoulder.

P. 79. 131. This coin has been cut down to the Tabaristān standard.

P. 79. 132. There is also a specimen illustrated in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVII, 2. See Olshausen, pp. 49 ff. and p. 75. The latter read the governor as 'Amr ibn Ziyād. Krafft (p. 19, no. 3) and Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1850, p. 507) corrected this.

P. 80. B. 24. Olshausen, p. 79, recorded one in the Pogge Collection, Greifswald. See Krafft, p. 19, no. 5. The countermark on the Berlin coin is described by Nützel as a horse's head with a wing behind and with a legend which he regarded as Arabic ~~الله~~ (?). With this opinion I cannot agree. The countermark resembles no. 7 in my list of countermarks and the script above the head is not Arabic but Pehlevi.

P. 80. B. 25. The date, however, is only presumably 67, it may, in fact, be an indistinct 70 (~~١٢٤٥~~<sup>١٢٤٦</sup> = HFTAT). Cf. note to no. 115 above. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 294) declares that this is a common date. So far I have seen no certain example of it amongst the coins of this governor struck at this mint. But see mint of Merv al-Rūdh.

P. 81. 138. The additional Kufic word on the obverse margin is al-'Azīz 'the Mighty', one of the nine and ninety beautiful names of Allah. It also appears on the coins of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir. Note diacritic point over the first *zain* in the legend as it appears on the coin.

The unusual Ephthalite legend on the reverse margin is paralleled on the Arab-Ephthalite coins described below on p. 127.

P. 82. 145. There is a coin of this mint ascribed to the year 62 in the Johnston Sale Catalogue (*Sotheby*, July, 1906, p. 13) but I suspect that it is a misreading of the date 63.

P. 82. C. 6. Østrup wisely described the date on this coin as *douteuse*. Nevertheless I am inclined to read it as 63 as being the most probable explanation. In spite of the countermarks in the second quarter I can see no trace of any underlying Arabic legend as one would expect. Østrup regarded the marginal legend as being effaced. With this I cannot agree. This absence of the customary Arabic marginal legend is by no means unique. Cf. nos. 161-2.

P. 83. B. 26. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 294, no. 17a) as being in the General Fox Collection (=Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 159, no. 795).

P. 83. 150. ex Masson Collection. This unique coin is the one mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 295) although his transcription of the mint-name is not accurate (Pl. II, fig. 15); hence Mordtmann's פַלְחָ פַלְחָ *palch, balch* (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 158, no. 792) and Valentine's *palk* (p. 80). See also *Tiesenhausen*, no. 150. The coin is reproduced here for the first time (see Mint Notes).

P. 84. Ox. 4. Of this remarkable coin, hitherto unpublished, I have seen two other examples, one in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and one in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

P. 84. 151. = Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 317, no. 55), who suggested that

the mint was Başra. See Mint Notes, s.v. بـ. Mordtmann, however (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 169, no. 857), read the mint-signature as بـ = Bihistun. See *Tiesenhausen*, no. 104. Another specimen in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is the coin from the Bardoe Elliot Collection recorded by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1852, p. 408).

P. 85. 152. This and Dam. 7, p. 86, are the first examples of this mint-signature to be published (see Mint Notes).

P. 86. J. 4. Another specimen in Mordtmann's own collection is mentioned by him (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 100, no. 78) similar to ETN. 17. It weighed 58.7 gr. (3.8 grm.).

P. 87. ETN. 18. The specimen of this mint wrongly ascribed by Tiesenhausen (no. 116, Pl. I, no. 11) to the year 53 is similar to the above. It was in the Prince Gagarine Collection. Tiesenhausen interpreted the mint as FIL (فـ) which actually is a rare Umayyad mint in the regular Muhammadan series of dirhams (see *Nützel*, Pl. IV, no. 327). The coin also wrongly ascribed by Nützel (no. 100) to the year 53 and to the mint of Firuzabād, is similar to the above. It weighs 48.6 gr. (3.15 grm.). Nützel (p. 381) wrongly dated it in terms of the era of Khusrau II following Mordtmann.

P. 87. B. 27. Nützel read the date as SIPNJA = 53 and equated it with the era of Khusrau II.

There was a coin of this governor, judging by the marginal legend بـ (بـ) in the Siouffi Collection, Mosul (Supplement, no. 1, 1891, p. 20), but no particulars as to mint or date are given.

P. 87. B. 28. This is the coin mentioned by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 101, no. 81).

P. 88. B. 29. The countermark is described by Nützel as 'Kopf und Hals eines Fabeltieres'.

P. 88. 158. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 156, though he read the mint-signature as BABĀ.

P. 89. 162. A variety of this date illustrated in the Michael Sale Catalogue (*Schulman*, March, 1914, Pl. I, no. 393) is now in the Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester. It weighs 46.6 gr. (3.02 grm.) only, since it is slightly clipped.

P. 89. 163. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 158, where the date is HSHTSH(s)R:

P. 90. 166. This coin, or a similar one, was first published by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 300, no. 27) but never illustrated, hence Mordtmann's doubts regarding the rare form of the date (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 161, no. 809). But this hybrid dating, half Aramaic and half Pehlevi—not as Mordtmann regarded it 'halb arabisch und halb persisch'—is not exceptional (see C. 6, p. 82).

Thomas read the mint-signature as *Khubus* but I prefer to regard it as an abbreviation of the name of *Khurāsān*, the province over which 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim was governor. The same mint-signature is to be found on the coins described on pp. 127–9, which I have named Arab-Ephthalite, and which I consider to have been issued by this same governor.

P. 90. 167. This date was first recorded by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 300, no. 25) but not illustrated. Vincent Smith (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, i, p. 230, no. 3) also mentions an example of this mint and date which he read as SISHTAST, but I have been unable to verify this. Stickel's example illustrated in his *Handbuch* (ii, p. 92, Pl. no. 50) is wrongly dated.

The correct date is 69 (NAVSHST). Cf. the examples nos. 175-84 of this date, particularly the appearance of the pellets in the reverse margin (·••), which definitely fixes the later date.

P. 93. 184. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 300, no. 25*f*) mentions an example with the name of 'Abdallāh's father spelled HAZM (presumably ~~خمز~~) in Pehlevi. As he does not illustrate the coin we have only his word for this variety.

Another example, with countermarks, of this mint and date is illustrated in Stickel's *Handbuch* (ii, Pl. no. 50) where it is wrongly ascribed to the year 63. See also *Nützel*, nos. 162-4.

P. 94. 186. There is a coin of this mint and date, with pellet in addition to cross l. of crown, in the American Numismatic Society Collection, New York. In the *Transactions of the Russian Archaeological Society* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, vol. vi (1892), Tiesenhausen published and illustrated (pp. 229-30; Pl.) a gold coin in the Collection of Gen. Komarov with the name of 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim and of the above mint and date. The following is a description of it from the plate:

As no. 186 above, but without countermarks; breast-ornament ♀; small crescent overl. shoulder [holed l. of crown].	As no. 185 above; margin with- out additional pellets.
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The coin is said to weigh 35.9 gr. (2.33 grm.) and to measure 1.1 inch (30 millimetres). This seems a ridiculous weight for a gold coin of this size and has no parallel with any gold coin of the Sassanian or Muhammadan series. I conjecture that it is really gilt. It differs from any of the official silver, described above, of this mint and year in the epigraphy of the name-legends (thus م for م, and in having for breast-ornament ♀ which occurs nowhere else on any of the coins of this governor known to me; and lastly in having the margin without the additional pellets characteristic of the coins of this mint from 67-73. Unlike the gold forgeries of coins of 'Umar ibn 'Ubaiddallāh mentioned (p. 193), however, it is not cast from a silver coin die. Cf. the so-called gold coin of AFZUT type in the Tabaristān section (p. 161).

P. 94. B. 31. This is the coin referred to by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 300, no. 25*i*) as being in the General Fox Collection. As 'Abdallāh died in A.H. 72 this coin is a posthumous issue (cf. Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 102). I see no reason to doubt this date, although there is but very little difference between 72 and 73 in Pehlevi script.

P. 95. Ox. 5. This is the unique coin first published by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1852, pp. 411-12 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 190, no. 49 = *Tiesenhausen*, no. 176). This is the first time, however, that it has been reproduced.

P. 95. 191. The coins of this governor were published for the first time in *Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 290-2. There they were dated A.H. 74 and attributed to Talha ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Auf. Since then I have revised my opinion and have come to the conclusion that they belong to the preceding decade, and were struck in the name of Talha ibn 'Abdallāh who was appointed governor of Sīstān in A.H. 63. Two other specimens of his coinage were also published in the same article (see below). Since then I have come across another example—though much corroded—amongst a collection of coins brought back by Mr. G. P. Tate

from Sīstān itself, which coincides with my proposed interpretation of the above mint-signature.

P. 96. 192. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 304, no. 34) who, however, read the Kufic legend in the third quarter as **الْمُدْلِي**, which Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 164, no. 838) gave as **الْمُدْلِي**, and which Tiesenhausen (no. 169) transmitted. The word is actually **الْمُرِيز** (*al-***'Aziz** i.e. 'the Mighty'), one of the ninety-nine beautiful names of Allah and an appropriate one for a governor to employ whose name means 'Servant of the Mighty'. This same legend occurs also on the coins of Salm ibn Ziyād (see above no. 138 and note, p. 189). In this case, however, there is no diacritic point on the coin legend.

P. 96. Cam. 7. This is the coin from the Masson Collection mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 304, no. 35). Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 164, no. 837) interpreted this mint-signature as **سِر** = Sijistān, of which province we know 'Abd al-'Aziz was governor. Cf. note to 122, p. 188.

P. 97. B. 32. As can readily be seen on examination of the Plate the attribution to this governor seems far from convincing. This particular coin, formerly in the General Fox Collection, was first published by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 320, no. 66 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 171, no. 871 = *Tiesenhausen*, no. 227). The difficulty of decipherment was apparent to all. Only Thomas had seen the coin itself before it passed into the Berlin Cabinet. Thomas, who left the reading of the governor's name an open question, dated the coin 73 (**SHAFTAT**) and interpreted the mint-signature as **TAUMA**. Mordtmann, not having seen the coin, accepted these data. But when the coin went into the Berlin Museum he read the mint-signature as **TAUT**, apparently not realizing that the coin was one and the same as that previously mentioned by Thomas. Thus (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 106) he has made two different versions of the same coin and classified them as separate entities. At the same time he has gone farther and interpreted the governor's name on the Berlin specimen as 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abdallāh. Nützel, however, disagreed with this rendering and substituted 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abdallāh, and also, correctly in my opinion, read the date as 71 (in the form **YAṄHFTAT**). During an examination of the coins in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions) I came across another example of the above, but unfortunately the governor's name was just as problematical so that I am no nearer a solution. It is just possible that Mordtmann's 'Abd al-Rahmān may be the correct name, with the form of which it bears a close superficial resemblance, as can be seen by comparison with the actual coin of that governor described on p. 123. An argument against the 'Abd al-'Aziz attribution is the fact that the name on the above coin does not have the complete form which is characteristic of the coins of 'Abd al-'Aziz minted elsewhere (see no. 192, Cam. 7 and Ox. 6, pp. 96-7).

P. 97. Sch. 5. The present whereabouts of this coin is unknown to me. Another example is mentioned by Dorn (*Mélanges*, II, p. 260, no. 13 = *Tiesenhausen*, no. 171) as being in the Museum of the St. Petersburg Academy. In *Tiesenhausen* the margin is given as: **بِسْمِ اللَّهِ رَحْمَنَ رَحِيمَ**. In all probability this is inaccurate.

P. 98. 193. = *Numismata Orientalia DXL*. Marsden was unable, however,

to attribute this coin and a similar specimen was illustrated by A. de Longpérier in his *Essai sur les médailles des Rois Perses* (Paris, 1840, Pl. XII, no. 2) and attributed to Sarbaraz by error. Olshausen (p. 47) correctly attributed it though he went wrong over the mint-signature. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 303, no. 32) states that examples of this mint and date are common. He gives the average weight of four specimens as 60·7 gr. (3·93 grm.).

P. 98. ANS. 14. Cf. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 303, no. 32 a). There is a similar specimen in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 99. B. 34. In the same Collection there is another specimen of this mint and date similar to the above but with countermarks nos. 14 and 43 on the obverse, and with pellet l. and r. of mint-signature (*Nützel*, no. 171). See also Tiesenhausen, no. 213, and Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, no. 52).

P. 99. 194. There is also a (clipped) specimen of this date in the American Numismatic Society Collection, New York.

P. 99. 195. There is a specimen like this one, but unmarred by countermarks in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London. It weighs 62·3 gr. (4·04 grm.). Cf. the two examples in Berlin (*Nützel*, nos. 173, 174).

P. 99. 196. There are three specimens of this date in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, one of which has the countermark no. 47 = MRWRUT (cf. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 303, no. 31). Thomas (*op. cit.*) gives the average weight of seven specimens which he had seen as 62·8 gr. (4·07 grm.).

P. 100. 197. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 175. There is a fine specimen of this date in the E. T. Newell Collection in the American Numismatic Society, New York, which shows the pellet on the r. margin clearly. When Thomas wrote in 1850 (*J.R.A.S.*, p. 303, no. 31 a) he only knew of one specimen of this date in the Masson Collection. This coin is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The coin described in the Istanbul Museum Catalogue (no. 18) and dated 72 is actually a coin of the above year as I found on examination.

P. 100. 201. In the British Museum there are two casts in gold of this mint and year both from the same mould. One came from the Claude Stewart Collection 1848, and weighs 68·8 gr. (4·46 grm.); while the other came from the Prinsep Collection, 1847, and weighs 66·3 gr. (4·30 grm.). Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 303) accepted these as genuine gold coins struck by the Arab Governor 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh. They are both obviously cast from the same silver coin. Cf. note to 186, p. 191. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 164, no. 834) and Tiesenhausen (no. 211) have repeated Thomas's assertion.

P. 101. 203. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 302, no. 30) records a coin of this mint and date but with marginal legend  $\text{الحمد لله}$  which he states is in the British Museum. As there is no such coin in the National Collection and the above specimen which was acquired in 1845 was not mentioned by him, I can only conclude that his description of the marginal legend must be at fault. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1850, p. 163, no. 825 = Tiesenhausen, no. 164) transmitted Thomas's description; but he had not had an opportunity of seeing the coin itself. In 1879 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 102, no. 84) he recorded an example of this mint and date in the von Prokesch-Osten Collection. In this case the marginal legend tallied with coins nos. 202 and 203.

P. 101. Cam. 10. ex Masson Collection. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas

(*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 303, no. 33 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 164, no. 831). Olshausen (*Pehlevi-Legenden*, p. 79) and Nützel (no. 180) described a similar specimen. Amongst the Recent Acquisitions of the Istanbul Museum there is another, but without the additional pellet in the fourth quarter of the obverse.

P. 102. 205. There is a similar specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

P. 102. B. 35. This is the coin mentioned by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 103, no. 85) who read the mint-signature as NIH=Nishapur. The coin is so badly broken that the casting has been a very delicate operation.

P. 102. I. 42. Until I came across the above coin in Istanbul the only other record I had of such a remarkable piece was a statement by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 103, no. 86) of one in the Subhi Pasha Collection.

P. 103. Th. 12. Dorn (*Mélanges*, viii, p. 276) gives another example with the above countermark.

P. 104. 207. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 306, no. 36) who read the mint as Kermansir (?). See Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 165, no. 839).

P. 105. 208. The date I prefer to read as a variant of 71 rather than as 73. (٧١ ٢٠٦), especially as we know from the historians that Mukātil was slain in A.H. 72 (cf. Cam. 11, p. 106). Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 107, no. 95) published, without illustration unfortunately, a coin which he incorrectly ascribed to a governor named Muhammad ibn Maslama, but a comparison of his transcription of the legends on his coin with those on the above clearly demonstrates that they are meant to be the same. Moreover, the unique marginal legend in the third quarter, for which I have been unable to suggest a satisfactory explanation (and which Mordtmann quite wrongly read as *Bassrie*) leaves the matter beyond dispute. The date on his specimen he read as 72 (see below Ties. 3). Valentine (p. 97) read the governor's name quite wrongly as Muhammad or Modud bin Musalman (*sic*). When the present writer first published the above coin in 1935 (*Num. Chron.*, pp. 250-1) he was unaware that he had been fore stalled in the correct interpretation of the governor's name by Tiesenhausen in 1891 (in the *Trans. of the Russian Arch. Soc.*, vi, p. 259, no. 76). Tiesenhausen's coin is described under the year 72 (Ties. 3, p. 105).

P. 106. Cam. 11. This is the unique coin first published by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 319, no. 64), who read the date as SIHTAT (73) and the mint-signature as SHĀJA (?). The governor's name eluded him though he almost stumbled upon it in *Prinsep's Essays*, I, p. 68. The first part he read correctly as al-Mughīra (with un- for al- in the Pehlevi transcription) but the father's name as Muslim (I-MSLMAN). Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 170, no. 870; see also 1865, pp. 461-3), who had only Thomas's transcription to work on, read the name as Numaira ibn al-Muhallab and the mint-signature as SHAJA. In 1879 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 109, no. 22) he even expressed his doubt of the last name. The correct interpretation is to be found in a combination of the readings of both Thomas and Mordtmann, namely, al-Mughīra ibn al-Muhallab, which has the added advantage of coinciding with known historical data. (See Biographical Sketches.) Tiesenhausen (in his *Monnaies des Khalifes*, 1873, p. 26, no. 225) first suggested this, though he strangely misspelled the Arabic name of the governor's father (مُحَمَّد).

for الْمَلِك). He regarded the mint as being Marw al-Shāhijān (مر و الشاهجان) or simply Shāhijān, which is the name of Great Merv in contradistinction to Little Merv or Merv al-Rūdh (MRWRUT of these coins). Valentine (p. 98, no. 22) for some reason gave the mint as Nahavan (*sic*).

P. 106. I. 44. Before I saw the above specimen the only record I had come across of such a mint and date was Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1858, p. 53, no. 304). The coin in question was in the Subhi Pasha Collection. The margin was complete: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم = SHUBUT: (?).

P. 106. 209. I have interpreted the mint-signature as above because of its resemblance to that on the coins of 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim of the year 63 as well as on the Arab-Ephthalite coins which were almost certainly issued for Khurāsān. See Mint Notes.

P. 107. 211. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 308, no. 39).

P. 107. B. 36. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 308, no. 40) in the General Fox Collection. He read the date as 74; but Nützel's rendering is the more likely, judging from the Plate, though he dates it in terms of the Hijra era. Cf. date on no. 209, p. 106.

P. 108. Cam. 12. This is apparently the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 307, no. 37). The other coin of this mint and date, which he mentioned as being in the General Fox Collection, is now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (Nützel, no. 185, Pl. III). Nützel, however, refused to express an opinion on the mint-name which is the same as on the B.M. coin (no. 212). Dorn (*Mélanges*, II, p. 260, no. 17) mentions another specimen which he ascribes mistakenly to 'Abdallāh ibn Umāiyā by a sort of hypallage. Cf. the coin of Salm ibn Ziyād (Ox. 4, p. 84).

P. 109. 215. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 309, no. 41 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 166, no. 844).

P. 109. So. 1. In the Johnston Sale Catalogue (*Sotheby*, July, 1906, p. 13, lot 132) there is a coin of this governor said to be of this mint and of the year 74. I am inclined to regard this as due to a misreading of the mint of BISH. The statement is without any confirmation.

P. 109. Th. 13. This unique coin was first published and attributed to this governor by the present writer in *Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 284–8. The correct interpretation of the mint-signature, however, was first given by Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 7, no. 13) on the authority of Herzfeld. The coin in Göttingen attributed to this governor by Olshausen (p. 46) is actually a coin of the 'Abbāsid Governor in Tabaristān Jarīr as I propose to demonstrate.

Olshausen (pp. 35 and 46) attributed a coin in the Göttingen University Museum to Bishr ibn Marwān. He had never seen the coin itself and his conjecture is due to a misinterpretation of an Arabic legend made by his predecessors Tychsen and Fraehn. Tychsen alone had actually seen the coin in question. His original statement (*Th. Chr. Tychsen: Commentatio de numis veterum Persarum*, p. 24, in vol. i of the *Commentationes . . . recentiores*, 1808–11) mentions certain coins of what we now know as the 'Abbāsid governors in Tabaristān—an unmistakable type. The name-legends on the Göttingen specimen was in Kufic

script which he read as *Jaser* (جسر). Fraehn (*J.A.*, iv, p. 335, no. viii; see *Jahresverhandlungen der kurländischen Gesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst*, Mitau, 1822, vol. ii, p. 411) preferred to read this legend as *Boschr* (بُشْر). In 1843 Olshausen (pp. 35 and 46; the English translation *Num. Chron.*, 1849, p. 85, has *Bashr* (بَشْر), but on p. 123 *Besher*; Krafft, pp. 13 and 22, however, has *Beschr*) repeated Fraehn's rendering and also suggested that it belonged to the time of the Umayyad Governor *Bishr* ibn Marwān. The explanation is really quite simple. The Kufic legend that puzzled Tychsen in the first place must have been حُرْ i.e. *Jarīr*, which he read as جسر *Jaser* (cf. the coins of *Jarīr*, p. 145).

P. 110. Th. 14. When I first published this unique coin in 1934 (*Num. Chron.*, pp. 288–90) I read the date as YA᠁HFTAT (71) but on further examination I have been forced to the conclusion that it is certainly 79. We know from the annals that 'Ubaidallāh was governor of Sīstān in 78–79. See Biographical Sketches.

P. 110. O. 8. There is also another in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

P. 110. Cam. 13. ex Masson Collection. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 318, no. 60) who read the second part of the name as Abīdawān (أبیدان). Mordtmann at first (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 170, no. 866) read the name as Umian bin Aban, but later (*ibid.*, 1879, p. 108) he suggested that the name on the coin—which unfortunately he had never actually seen—might be Humrān ibn Abbān (or Abān), although he confessed he was unable to find historical confirmation of such a person's governorate. Tiesenhausen, however, already in 1873 (no. 218) had read the same name correctly and had referred to Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen* (i, pp. 269, 411) for the historical data. See Introduction, Biographical Sketches. There is also an example of this variety in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions).

P. 111. 216. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 318, no. 61 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 170, no. 867 = *Tiesenhausen*, no. 219). Thomas illustrated the above coin in a later publication (*J.R.A.S.*, 1871, p. 433, no. 9, Pl. I) but his interpretation was still incorrect, as was also Mordtmann's (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 107, no. 94). None of the foregoing authorities correctly interpreted the governor's name. The dirhams of 'Atīya (الْأَطِيَا) were first identified by the writer in *Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 12–17. A specimen similar to the above, but without countermark, is illustrated in the Strauss Collection Sale Catalogue (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, Pl. V, no. 1010) though it is not correctly attributed. I have also seen two of this date in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions) on which the mint-signature is no. 30. There is also a specimen in the American Numismatic Society, but the date is not sufficiently clear.

P. 111. I. 45. There is another similar specimen in the Osman Arıdağ Collection, Istanbul.

P. 111. Th. 15. A similar specimen (holed) in the Davis Collection (now dispersed) measured 1·2; 53·3 gr. (3·45 grm.). In addition it had a pellet in the first quarter of the obverse margin.

P. 111. 217. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 319, no. 63 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 170, no. 869 = *Tiesenhausen*, no. 237) although his attribution is wrong and his description of the obverse margin is

inaccurate. He read the mint-signature as KRMANSR, and considered the name-legends as an imperfect rendering of Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh.

P. 112. 218. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 318, no. 62 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 170, no. 868 = *Tiesenhausen*, no. 236) though incorrectly attributed. It is illustrated by him later on (*J.R.A.S.*, 1871, p. 433, no. 8, Pl. I) though once again his interpretation is unsuccessful. Dorn (*Mélanges*, ii, p. 260, no. 14) also failed to interpret one of this mint and date. As can be seen from Mordtmann's Table no. I (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854) the coin in the Vienna Cabinet of this mint and date which he attributes to 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abdallāh is really one of 'Atīya. In his next attempt at deciphering the governor's name (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 107, no. 94) he was very nearly successful.

P. 112. N. 2. This coin was first described by Olshausen (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, pp. 842-3), though he interpreted the mint-signature as SINT (i.e. SIND). In this he was followed by Nesselmann in his Catalogue of the Oriental coins in Königsberg University in 1858 (*Die orientalischen Münzen*, pp. 12-13), although Mordtmann in his article on Kātarī (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1855, pp. 850-8) had disputed this and suggested ANT = Antmesch or Enderābe. In 1858 Mordtmann also published the same coin and again read the mint-signature as ANT (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1858, p. 52, no. 303), though he later (*ibid.*, 1879, p. 109, no. 23) read it as UT. Tiesenhausen (no. 234) preferred ANT. In Pl. I, no. 10, the latter gave a somewhat poor drawing of the coin. I have been unable to obtain a cast for publication here.

P. 112. I. 46. The date on this coin is interesting confirmation of the historians who state that in this year Kātarī proclaimed himself Caliph.

P. 113. 219. There is a similar specimen illustrated in the Berlin Catalogue (*Nützel*, no. 191, Pl. III) with countermarks nos. 28 and 14 in the first quarter of the obverse and a graffito on the reverse margin. It weighs 61.4 gr. (3.98 grm.). This is the same coin as is illustrated by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1883, pp. 97-9, Pl. no. 6) when it was in the Collection of Alexander Grant. He, however, read the mint-signature as Baisa or Fesa. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 473, no. 167) described another example in the S. Alishan Collection but interpreted the mint-signature as Basa (= *Tiesenhausen*, no. 2709). His further reference (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 109, no. 23) to a Baṣra example is a misprint. There is a specimen similar to no. 219 above, only clearer, illustrated in the Strauss Collection Sale Catalogue (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, no. 1013, Pl. V). There are two specimens of this mint and date in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions), one as above and one with breast-ornament .•..

P. 113. ANS. 15. Cf. ANS. 16 described p. 116 under uncertain mint. There is also one of this mint and date in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 114. 221. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 311, no. 42) though he incorrectly described the marginal legend, and interpreted the mint-signature as BAISA. So *Lavoix*, no. 146.

P. 114. 223. Tornberg (*Rev. Belge de Num.*, 1870, p. 244, no. 111) records one of this date found in a Swedish hoard. Cf. *Nützel*, no. 186.

P. 114. 226. A specimen in the Davis Collection, Baghdad (now dispersed), weighed 60.1 gr. (3.89 grm.).

P. 114. 227. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 311,

no. 44). The specimen in the Copenhagen Museum Cabinet (*Østrup*, no. 68) weighs 62·3 gr. (4·04 grm.). The two examples in Berlin (*Nützel*, nos. 187 and 188) weigh 62·9 gr. (4·08 grm.) and 62·1 gr. (4·02 grm.) respectively.

P. 115. So. 2. Only the mint-name was reproduced by Soret, fig. 2. Stickel gives some additional details.

P. 115. B. 37. Nützel read the Pehlevi date, which is, as can be seen from the plate, rather uncertain, as 69. In the Biographical Sketches I have given reasons for considering that 79 is more probable. The Kufic graffito in the obverse margin is interesting. I suggest that it means جَدِيدٌ (i.e. excellent) and corresponds to the same legend on the coins of Yezdigird III type described above, p. 3. See note p. 173.

P. 116. 228. I have also seen two similar specimens in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions) and one in the Arab Museum, Damascus.

P. 116. ANS. 16. There is another example of this mint and date in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions). Cf. the coin of Ardashir-Khurra, p. 113.

P. 117. Mar. 3. Asiatic Institute, St. Petersburg (*Markoff*, p. 131, no. 56) = Dorn (*Mélanges*, ii, p. 261, no. 5) and *Tiesenhausen* (no. 214). In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 190, Pl. III) there is a fragment of a coin of this governor apparently like this one but with mint-signature and part of legend cut off. The puzzling legend in the third quarter is interpreted quite impossibly by Markoff as 'Muhammad envoyé'. My own conjecture is that the full legend is بسم الله رب الرحمن ربي الرحمن i.e. 'In the name of Allah my Lord the Merciful' (al-Rahmān). This is analogous with the legends of al-Hakam (above, p. 86) in which there is an oblique allusion to the name of the governor—a sort of canting legend in fact. But as I have never seen an actual specimen of the above coin, my conjecture is based on the somewhat uncertain transcription supplied by Markoff (*op. cit.*). Nützel (p. 382) wrongly regards the date as in terms of the Hijra era. The eventful career of 'Abd al-Rahmān (see Biographical Sketches) points to a date in terms of the Yezdigird era, as I have proposed. It is remarkable, however, to find that era employed at such a late period on coins.

P. 118. 229. This is the coin recorded by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 314, no. 46) though he gives the old interpretation of the mint-signature.

Markoff (*Monnaies Arsacides*, &c., p. 132, no. 59) records a specimen of this year with the name-legends: الحجاج بن يوسف امير; but I suspect that this addition may be due to a break in the die as on the above. In other respects the coin is the same. A badly damaged specimen is illustrated as the frontispiece of the second volume of the *Jahresverhandlungen der kurländischen Gesellschaft*, Mitau, 1822, and in *J.A.*, iv, Pl. III, no. 1.

P. 119. 232. In the Strauss Sale Catalogue (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, no. 1017, Pl. V) there is another example illustrated.

P. 119. 234. This is apparently the coin seen by Thomas in 1852 (*J.R.A.S.*, p. 413).

P. 119. 235. There is a similar example in the Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester, which weighs 58·2 gr. (3·77 grm.). The Paris specimen (*Lavoix*, no. 148) has the date completely written HSHTHFTAT.

P. 119. 236. There is a clearer specimen of this mint and date in the Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester. The obverse marginal legend is defectively written as on no. 229. It weighs 62·4 gr. (4·04 grm.). The Paris specimen (*Lavoix*, no. 149) weighs 4 grm.

P. 119. Th. 16. This is the only example I have so far seen with the name of Hajjāj in Pehlevi. The transliteration of the Arabic  $\zeta$  by the Pehlevi  $\kappa$  is phonetically interesting. In the case of the name Jundab (see above, p. 46) the  $\zeta$  is represented by the Pehlevi  $z$ .

P. 120. 237. This is the coin recorded by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 314, no. 47) though his interpretation of the mint-signature was wrong.

P. 120. Th. 17. This is similar to the coin in the Berlin Cabinet (*Nützel*, no. 194) which, however, is tentatively, but wrongly, attributed to the year 86. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 473, no. 168) described a similar specimen in the S. Alishan Collection, though he read the mint-signature as *BASA*. In the Strauss Collection Sale Catalogue (*Schulman*, Jan., 1913, no. 1016) there is a coin said to have been of this mint and date, but as it is not illustrated, and there is no indication in the text that it had this marginal legend, it is impossible to say whether it was correctly dated. During a recent visit to the Convent of the Flagellation in Jerusalem I noted another example. (See *Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 295).

P. 120. 238. Cf. his *Nummi Veteres*, London, 1830, p. 205, xviii, A. 1, and Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 314, no. 48). Olshausen (pp. 44–5) went wrong over the date and mint of this coin. He had, however, to depend on a cast only. There is a similar specimen illustrated by Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, no. 55, Pl.).

P. 120. 240. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 168, no. 856) gives the marginal legend mistakenly as  $\text{الله} \text{ اك$ . A similar coin is recorded by Fraehn (*J.A.*, iv, p. 336) who states that it had the legend  $\text{ الله} \text{ اك}$ . There is an example in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London, which has no pellet in the name-legends. The coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1871, p. 434, no. 13) is wrongly dated by him as 73 instead of 83 as can be verified by reference to his plate.

P. 121. B. 38. Cf. mint Ardashir-Khurra, p. 118.

P. 121. Flag. 1. This is the coin mentioned in Père Lemaire's article (*Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 295). When I first saw the coin in Jerusalem in 1937 I was inclined to read the mint-signature as a blundered *st* (no. 53)=*Iṣṭakhr* which was the opinion accepted by Père Lemaire, but it might quite easily be a badly written form of mint-signature no. 54=*TART*.

F. Erdmann (*Nummi Asiatici, &c.*, Kazan, 1834, p. 11, no. II–VI) records five coins of Arab-Sassanian type 'in quorum Areae I marginie interiore sat distincte leguntur verba arabica =  $\text{ب} \text{ ح} \text{ م} \text{ س} \text{ ا} \text{ ل} \text{ ل} \text{ ه}$ '. No reproduction of these remarkable coins was given. It seems on the face of it incorrect. It is interesting that this legend is actually one mentioned by early Arab historians in connexion with the coinage of Hajjāj. (See Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, pp. 12, 138). No such coin has ever been forthcoming. It is possible that (a) Erdmann was influenced by the statement in the Arabic writers or (b) he made the same mistake as they presumably made, and interpreted a Pehlevi legend after the *basmala* as Arabic for Hajjāj. When Erdmann published his work the interpretation of the Pehlevi

script on these coins had not yet been demonstrated. In confirmation of this view is the fact that in the following coin on the same page no. VII, obviously a coin of the 'Abbāsid governor in Tabaristān 'Umar, Erdmann has interpreted the Pehlevi word ز او in the margin as Arabic للّٰه حاجٌ (sic).

P. 121. 241. This mutilated coin, formerly in the Masson Collection, was first published by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 317, no. 57, Pl. III, fig. xviii = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 169, no. 860), who was presented with the natural difficulty of interpreting the second line of the name-legends. He did not venture to hazard a guess. What is visible of the overstruck legend clearly shows that it cannot be the name of 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, although the date would agree. But it is not one of his mints. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 104, no. 11) thought it might be 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Rabī'a who was (according to him) governor of Baṣra for the rival Caliph 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, if in fact the name was not that of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair himself. The vestiges of the legend are, however, against this. Mordtmann was wrong in his suggestion, for the particular governor of Baṣra at the time was al-Hārith ibu 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Rabī'a. The mint-signature was interpreted by both Thon as and Mordtmann as *IZD* i.e. Yezd in Fārs. My own views regarding the identification of the mint in question are given in the Mint Notes. Tiesenhausen (no. 172) read the mint as *AD* for *Adharbajān* and considered that the governor's name was 'Abdallāh ibn Abān.

'Abdallāh ibn al-Hārith ibn Naufal—if, indeed, it is his name on this coin—was nicknamed Babba (باب). He succeeded 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir (q.v.) as governor of Basra (in A.H. 64/65). His tenure was brief. He was succeeded by 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh (q.v.). The date on the above coin suggests that he was afterwards sub-governor in Sīstān. His predecessor's coin (see Sch. 5, p. 97) is also dated in this same year.

P. 122. Cam. 14. ex Masson Collection. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 317, no. 58 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 169, no. 861; 1879, p. 104, no. 13 = *Tiesenhausen*, no. 187 = *Valentine*, p. 95). All who have written about it have proposed different versions of the puzzling Pehlevi name-legends. I can find none of them satisfactory nor can I suggest another that is more plausible. It is just possible that if the margin were not cut off the legend there would supply a clue to the decipherment. The name I have proposed above is purely conjectural and has no historical confirmation. Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 7, no. 11) has recently suggested it might be Aslam ibn Zur'a al-Kilābī. I had already considered this possibility only to dismiss it. Neither the name-legends nor the historical data will fit. This is the first time this interesting coin has been illustrated. Perhaps this will induce someone to attempt a solution.

P. 122. Cam. 15. ex Masson Collection. This is the coin first published by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 318, no. 59). He read the name-legends as KAHTĀN ANTĀI (کهتان انتای). Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 169, no. 862) read it as Kahtan Utai, and later (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 104, no. 14) interpreted the first line as KATAN (قطان) and the second line as a title *Chutai* ('Lord'). Tiesenhausen (no. 175) read KATAN UTAI; while Valentine (p. 96) gave KAHTAN KUTAI. Dorn (*Mélanges*, ii, p. 283) identifies the governor with Kaṭān al-Tā'i (قطان الطائی) who, according to him, was in control of Herāt in A.H. 169–171. This is highly im-

probable. The coin is obviously a product of Umayiad times. I have failed to find any satisfactory explanation of the puzzling Pehlevi legend. There are coins of Salm ibn Ziyād known of this same mint and date (e.g. no. 117 with the same breast-ornament). Apparently the coin was issued in the name of some sub-governor of Salm in Khurāsān. The only other example of this coin that I have come across is a clipped specimen in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London.

P. 122. M. 53. Mordtmann first of all interpreted the name-legends as DWIT KATIBI BN ASHAT: i.e. Dā'ūd (or Laith) secretary of Ibn Ash'ath, and the mint-signature as ANT. Tiesenhausen (no. 208) in 1873 preferred to see Laith (or Zaid) in the first word. Later, in 1879 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 105, no. 16) Mordtmann proposed to read RUKAD ATEKI BIN ESCHAT, and the mint-signature as UR. Soon afterwards Salemann contributed a note on the interpretation of this and the coin T. 18 mentioned p. 123 (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 511), in which he regarded the puzzling obverse legend as not containing the name of a Caliph or Governor, but as the equivalent in Pehlevi of the well-known Koranic phrase لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا يَ i.e. There is no God but Allah. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1880, pp. 154-5) on the whole was in favour of this effort but proposed a variant translation 'There is no other Law-giver (or Governor) such as Justice' and considered it approached nearer to the marginal legend which he (wrongly) translated as 'There is no Judge (or Imām) without Justice'. Actually it is the well-known slogan of the Khārijites, religious sectarians, who, about the time when the above coin was struck, were in open revolt. It is also to be found on the coins (see pp. 112-13) of their great leader Kaṭari. One thing seems certain therefore, that this was a Khārijite issue. But whether the Pehlevi legend conceals the name of one of their leaders or some religious formula I cannot say with any conviction. After all the enigma caused Mordtmann *viele Mühe* during thirty years.

P. 123. T. 18. Thomas's attempt at reading the obverse Pehlevi legend was no more satisfactory than Mordtmann's (see M. 53 above). Valentine (p. 96) was quite fantastic in his transliteration.

P. 124. Th. 18. The only other specimen I have seen of this remarkable coin is in the Arab Museum, Damascus. It had not been clipped like the above and an outer circle on the reverse was discernable. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 106, no. 93) described a similar specimen in his own collection. Apparently his coin had in the obverse margin ∙• in addition on the right of the star and crescent. He read the legend in the mint-place as *Sivan Chuan*. The other legend he read as STRA, which does not correspond with any known numeral. The coin weighed 47.8 gr. (3.1 grm.). I have suggested that the mint-signature is on the left and that it is a variant of no. 10 = ATRA. The other legend on the right may be a blundered date.

Under the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abdallāh (above, p. 97) there is a coin described, now in the Berlin Cabinet, which I suspect ought to be attributed to 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abdallāh. Unfortunately no clear specimen which would place the attribution beyond all doubt, has so far come to my notice.

P. 124. B. 39. Nützel read neither the mint-signature, which is perfectly clear, nor the date, which is a little uncertain. Regarding the head-dress of the attendants, see note to I. 12, p. 24, on p. 178.

P. 125. 242, 243. There is a specimen similar to no. 242 in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (Nützel, no. 293, Pl. III). Nützel (p. 381) regarded

the date as being according to the era of Khusrau II. This is highly improbable. The British Museum coins have previously been published by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 321, no. 69 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 169, no. 863 = *Tiesenhausen*, nos. 197 and 198; and *J.R.A.S.*, 1871, p. 435, nos. 17 and 18, Pl. II) who also described an example in the Cabinet of Mr. Bland of the same mint but dated according to him (*ibid.*, 1850, p. 320, no. 68, and 1871, p. 435) in the year 65 (=Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 169, no. 859 = *Tiesenhausen*, no. 166). Unfortunately in the absence of illustration this lacks confirmation. Thomas also stated (*ibid.*, 1879, p. 435) that there was an example with the year 67 in the British Museum. He must have been mistaken. Thomas misinterpreted the reverse marginal legend and attributed the coins wrongly to the Caliph 'Ali. In this he was followed by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, pp. 86-7) and Valentine (p. 88). The former went to great lengths to explain the dates on the coins with the known period of 'Ali's Caliphate (A.H. 35-40) and devised a new era in consequence. On the Berlin specimen the word in question was not clear enough to be read by Nützel. The reading given above is, therefore, new but not without parallel on other coins (cf. ANS. 17, p. 127). The interpretation of the counter-mark is discussed in the Introduction. There is also a badly worn specimen in the Philip Thorburn Collection, London; the date is uncertain though the mint is as above. A comparison may be made between these copper coins and those described on pp. 170-2.

P. 127. ANS. 17. My reasons for the above suggested interpretation are given in the Introduction.

P. 127. 246. This is the coin described by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 329, no. 70) who interpreted the mint-signature as *Khubus* but did not attribute the coin to any governor. My reasons for the above suggested interpretation are mentioned in the Introduction. Cf. the coin of this same mint and year bearing the name of 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim (no. 166, p. 90).

P. 128. 249. Vincent Smith's specimen (Pl. XXIV, no. 14 of his *Indian Museum Catalogue*) has obverse like no. 248 but reverse like no. 249. His interpretations of the legends are, however, quite erroneous (see Introduction). De Morgan (in his *Manuel*, iii, fig. 601, p. 455) illustrates another example of this date in the Collection of Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe. This has the same obverse as no. 249, but with a reverse like that of no. 248. His incorrect attribution is also discussed in the Introduction. The British Museum coin appears to be the same as that published by Prof. Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 402, Pl. XVII, no. 4) and commented on by Olshausen (pp. 55-6), and Kraft (pp. 21-2), though their interpretations likewise may be dismissed.

P. 129. 253. An impression of a specimen in the Collection of Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe, Versailles, which was shown to me by Dr. Unvala, is similar to the above.

P. 129. 254. Cf. the reverse of the coin of Salm ibn Ziyād of this mint and of the previous year described above, no. 138, p. 81 (Pl. XV. 4).

P. 131. c. Judging from the specimens in the British Museum this change of head-dress occurred between the year 75-6 (P.-Y.E.). Unvala, though he is very meticulous about recording details, does not seem to have noted this interesting variation. The former type of head-dress only occurs once to my knowledge on the coins of the Umayyad Governors described p. 124, B. 39.

P. 131. 255. Soret (*Lettre à M. Justus Olshausen*, p. 13) has published and illustrated an example of this date but with the narrow-faced effigy similar to that on prototype d (Pl. XXIII), and no. 256 below. It thus forms an instructive link in the chain of evolution. The coin was in the Sprewitz Collection (no. 742 of Fraehn's Catalogue). Unvala mentions several other examples of this date (nos. 838-48 and Pl.) but does not distinguish the variation in portraiture. This date has been wrongly read as SHST (60) [Mordtmann in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 486, no. 76], and as VSHST (61) [Mordtmann, *ibid.*, p. 474, no. 169, and Stickel, *Handbuch*, ii, p. 108, no. 56, Pl.]. An example from a find is illustrated in an article by Ulla S. Linder in *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1938, p. 116, fig. 3.

P. 131. 256. Ascoli (*Dodici Monete etc.*, pp. 72-3) describes a coin of this date which he wrongly interprets as 117 (HFDHST ~~WWWWWW~~), otherwise it would be, as he thought it was, *una piccola novità per la cronologia e per la storia*.

P. 132. 257. Other varieties of this date in Unvala (nos. 849-58). There is another as well in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 132. Th. 19. This date is read by Unvala (nos. 873-4 and Pl.) as 115 which means transliterating the legend (including the letter  $\sigma$ ) as PANJJDHST: (or as Unvala transliterates it *pānčđah-sat*), which is a quite exceptional form of the date. Whereas, by omitting the letter  $\sigma$  P at the beginning, the resulting date is a possible form of 111. This is the interpretation which I prefer. Unvala saw, in the Zubov Collection, a fragmentary coin with a similar date-legend which he transliterates as *pānčđah-sat(u)*, i.e. 115, but which I should prefer to read as (P)AYKDHST: i.e. 111. Cf. *Khalid*, year 116, p. 133.

P. 132. U. 1. This is the only known specimen of this date. It has been described and illustrated but not weighed by its former owner (*Unvala*, no. 859, Pl.).

P. 132. 258. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1880, p. 347, no. 1, and 1871, p. 455, no. 1), who, however, read the date wrongly as JHÄRSHST (64), although Olshausen previously in 1843 (*Pelewit-Legenden*, p. 41) had read the same date correctly on a cast of the same coin. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 174, no. 883), followed the latter though he recanted afterwards (*ibid.*, 1865, p. 474, no. 169). Stickel published another example (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 109, no. 59) and correctly interpreted the date. For other examples of this date see *Unvala*, nos. 866-72.

P. 133. Z. 4. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 475, no. 183) published one of this date in the Subhi Pasha Collection. The obverse of another example in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, is illustrated by Nützel, Pl. III, no. 206. For other varieties observed by Unvala see his nos. 881-4.

P. 133. 259. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 475, no. 184) published a similar specimen in the Subhi Pasha Collection. Another in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, is recorded by Nützel (no. 207). For other varieties see *Unvala*, nos. 888-91 and 2033.

P. 134. 260. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 174, no. 884, Pl. IX. 34) described a coin of this date in his own collection. See previously his misreading of the name and date corrected by Olshausen (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1848, pp. 110-11). Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1871, p. 456, no. 3) quite mistakenly read the governor's name as Hārith on a similar coin. There is a specimen of this date

exhibited in the Istanbul Museum. For other varieties noted by Unvala see his nos. 895-8.

P. 134. 261. This is one of the two coins mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 6). The other was in the Stokes Collection. In a footnote (no. 4) he states that the margin had the additional word سعاد (see coin no. 263). There is certainly no trace of such on the British Museum specimen and I have never yet seen a coin of 'Umar of this year with such a legend. Olshausen in 1843 (*op. cit.*, p. 30, Pl. no. 1) illustrated a fragmentary coin of this date in the Copenhagen Cabinet (= *Østrup*, no. 73, where the date is incorrectly given as 130). On this example also there is no instance of the additional marginal legend although judging from Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 174, no. 885) one might readily conclude there were. But the latter has been misled by Thomas's footnote mentioned above. Unvala (no. 900) repeats this erroneous detail, although amongst the various other examples he cites there is none with such a legend except one (no. 909), which is so fragmentary that it apparently does not even have the governor's name. In his footnote p. 18, 4, he refers to Tornberg's MS. Catalogue and to the same author's *Symbolae* (iii, p. 26), no. 67, as being relevant. The former reference I have been unable to verify, but the latter records a coin of 'Umar dated not 120 but 126 (~~شىخ~~ VIST ST). See To. 4, p. 135. My conclusion is that there is no satisfactory evidence of such an early appearance of this marginal legend on those coins. Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 79) also records another in the Pogge Collection, Greifswald. See also Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, no. 60).

P. 134. 262. A variety of this year was described by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 487, no. 84) and by Nützel (no. 208, Pl. III). See also *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 434. For other examples see *Unvala*, nos. 912-22. A specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Lavoix*, no. 153) is wrongly ascribed to the year 127.

P. 135. 263. This is one of the specimens of this date mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 7). There is one illustrated in the Catalogue of the Count von Wiczay Collection (1814, Pt. i, p. 299, no. 6360, Pl. XXVII, no. 589) but not attributed. In 1840 Longpérier (*Essai*, pp. 82-3, Pl. XII, no. 3), published an example obviously of this date from the cabinet of M. Rigollet but was also quite unable to interpret it. Very soon afterwards, however, in 1843, Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 31), was able to classify it successfully. Another specimen is illustrated in G. Geitlin (*Beskrifning*, pp. 201-2, Pl. I, no. 8). Cf. Nützel, no. 213, *Lavoix*, no. 152, and Stickel, no. 62.

P. 135. 264. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 487, no. 86) records an example in the von Prokesch-Osten Collection of this date with a pellet r. and l. of flames and over the u of the mint-name, and without legend in the third quarter. This last detail is not noted by Unvala (no. 925). For other varieties not already published see *Unvala*, nos. 933-7, 942-5, and 2034, and also Istanbul Museum Catalogue, no. 914.

P. 136. B. 40. There is a fragment in the Copenhagen Cabinet (*Østrup*, no. 75, where it is imperfectly described). In what remains of it, it varies in one detail, not noted by Unvala (no. 1158), in having a small stroke above the date. This was the coin mentioned by Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 31), but not reproduced. See note to B. 42 on p. 206. In 1862 Prince Gagarine published (*Lettre*, pp. 8-9),

a specimen in his own collection with details as above, and Soret (*ibid.*, p. 8, footnote) added that he had had the good fortune to find another specimen amongst the coins brought back from Teheran by Colonel Brongniard. Apparently Mordtmann was unaware of this, for in 1865 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 488, no. 89) he described another example which he regarded as unique. Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 113, no. 65) followed in 1870 with his description of another in the Jena Cabinet, which he thought was the second known specimen. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1871, p. 457, no. 4 a) was also unaware of the publication by Prince Gagarine. Markoff (*Monnaies Arsacides*, etc., p. 125) in 1889 recorded another in the Asiatic Institute St. Petersburg (= Dorn, *Mélanges*, ii, p. 261 d), Unvala saw two specimens in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, and one in the Ermitage, Leningrad (his nos. 1156-7, 1159).

P. 137. ETN. 21. In addition to the specimens in other collections noted by Unvala (nos. 957-66) there is one in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and another in the Istanbul Museum (Recent Acquisitions). The above specimen is the first one to be reproduced in its entirety.

P. 137. 266. Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 23) read this date as 220 and Thomas apparently agreed with him (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 14). But Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, pp. 174-5, no. 886, Pl. IX. 35) interpreted it correctly, as did Stickel (*Handbuch*, no. 61), and Nützel (nos. 209-11). Østrup (no. 74) regards the irregular number as a mistake on the part of the engraver, but there is no necessity to look upon it as other than a linguistic alternative. Cf. date 132 on no. 304, p. 154. Thomas (*ibid.*, and 1871, p. 457, no. 6) gives the wrong form of marginal legend in the third quarter, a mistake which unfortunately has found its way into *Unvala* (nos. 969 and 972). The date is extremely common as can be seen from Unvala's citations (nos. 967-1005, and 2037-42). See also I. 51, p. 136.

Ghalib Edhem in his Catalogue of the Istanbul Museum coins (nos. 20 and 21) recorded two specimens with the date written normally as DUVISTST. During a recent visit I have been able to verify this reading. Unvala also came across an example in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, with the same spelling (his no. 978). See also *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 434. The coin in the Istanbul Museum (no. 19) that was dated 120 by Ghalib Edhem is really 122 (DUVISTST).

P. 137. B. 41. This is the coin described by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 175, no. 887) and previously noted by Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 73). A few more examples are noted by Unvala (1008-16, and 2043). In addition there is one in the Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, no. 22), which I have verified. Markoff (*Monnaies Arsacides*, etc., p. 124, nos. 11 and 12) mentioned two varieties with 1121 in the third segment of the margin. This is accepted by Unvala (nos. 2044-5) but as this marginal legend does not occur until a later date it is permissible to consider the possibility that Markoff misread the date.

P. 137. 267. This is the coin described by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 175, no. 889), where by a printer's error the date is given as 125 (corrected by him in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1858, p. 56, no. 310). So that Unvala's nos. 1017 and 1020 are actually one and the same coin though judging by his transcriptions of the date they appear quite different in epigraphy. The former is certainly wrong. The same applies to his transcription (no. 1019) of the date on the

Jena coin mentioned by Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 112, no. 63). On all the specimens of this date that I have encountered the date has been invariably as above. In addition to the examples cited by Unvala there are others in the Istanbul Museum and the Ashmolean, Oxford.

P. 137. B. 42. Unvala also records one in Stockholm (no. 1034), but his citation of Mordtmann (no. 1032) is, as I shall show, quite without foundation and his epigraphy purely supposititious. Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 18) mentioned a coin in the Copenhagen Cabinet of this year with 'Umar's name in the margin. In the English translation (*Num. Chron.*, xi, p. 73), the important phrase 'in the margin' (*am Rande*) is omitted, thus leading to the erroneous opinion that these are coins with 'Umar's name in the customary place, namely, in the field; whereas they are actually specimens of the very rare type with 'Umar's name in Kufic in the margin and in Pehlevi in the field (see B. 40, p. 136). Misled by this brief mention by Olshausen, Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 175, no. 890) has described it as if it were a coin with 'Umar (عمر) in the field. This has been embodied by Unvala (no. 1032), without verification. There are no such coins in the Copenhagen Catalogue (*Østrup*, nos. 70–98), a fact which I have verified from casts, but there is in fact there a fragment of a coin of this date with 'Umar (عمر) written in the margin, which after all was what Olshausen actually stated. Krafft (p. 12, no. 3) has made the same mistake as Mordtmann. His plate reference is also wrong.

The coin of this type and year recorded in the Istanbul Museum Catalogue (no. 24) is really of the year 122.

Markoff (*Monnaies Arsacides*, etc., p. 125, nos. 16–20) records specimens of this type and year apparently without any legend in the third segment of the margin. But this may be and most probably is an inexact description on the part of Markoff. It is recorded without comment by Unvala (nos. 2046–50). See also below, no. 274, note.

P. 138. I. 52. In 1937 during a hurried visit to Aleppo, I noted what appeared to me at the time to be an example of this year in the private collection of the Belgian Consul Maître Josef Poche. Unfortunately I did not obtain a rubbing.

P. 138. 270. = *Nummi Veteres*, p. 205, XVIII, B. 2. Cf. Nützel, nos. 216–17, and Stickel, nos. 66 and 67. Another example of this date is mentioned in *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 434, and in the Karabacek Sale (*Schulman*, Nov., 1937, no. 1090). Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 19, Pl. no. 3) illustrated another example in the Copenhagen Cabinet (= *Østrup*, no. 77). Its weight is 29.3 gr. (1.90 grm.). Unvala (no. 1062) has read the date on a cast of a coin in the Istanbul Museum which I communicated to him, as HF(T)VISTST = 127. My opinion now that I have seen the coin itself, is that it is more probably P(NJ)VISTST = 125, or else VISTST = 120 with the Pehlevi letter P in front. Cf. the case of Th. 19, p. 132, and note at end, p. 203. The presence of 1121 in the second quarter of the legend is not against this possibility as it occurs on coins of the governor Sa'id as early as 125.

P. 138. 271. = *Nummi Veteres*, *ibid.*, B. 1. Cf. Nützel, nos. 218–21. Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 19) mentioned an example of this date in the Copenhagen Cabinet (= *Østrup*, no. 78) which weighs 28.5 gr. (1.85 grm.).

P. 139. 272. = *Nummi Veteres*, *ibid.*, B. 3 = Olshausen, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

P. 139. 273. This is the coin illustrated in *Numismata Orientalia*, DXLI, Pl. XXIX = Olshausen, p. 29. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 12) gives the reference as DXII, an error incorporated by Unvala in his notes to page xxiii, 4.

P. 139. 274. Examples of this date are extremely common as can be seen from Unvala's citations (nos. 1063–1102). In addition I noted nine examples in the Istanbul Museum. The two examples given by Unvala (nos. 1091, 1092) as being in the Copenhagen Cabinet are, if his transcriptions are correct, both erratic in the epigraphy of the date. There is only one coin of the year 128 in Copenhagen (*Østrup*, no. 78), and from an examination of casts of all coins of Tabaristān in that collection I can certify that there is only one specimen which has a normal date-legend as on the above coins. Again Unvala (nos. 1071–2) records two coins in the British Museum as having the legend AFZUT behind the head written thus **۱۰۸۰** (sic). As can be seen from an examination of the plates which illustrate all the coins in the National Collection this is not the case. Markoff (*Monnaies Arsacides*, etc., p. 125, nos. 21–24) records examples of this type and year apparently without any Pehlevi legend in the third quarter of the margin. This is certainly due to a mistake in description. Unvala cites it, however (nos. 2051–4), without comment.

P. 139. 275. This is one of the examples of this date recorded by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 13). Olshausen had previously, in 1843 (*op. cit.*, p. 19), recorded a specimen of this year in the Copenhagen Cabinet (*Østrup*, no. 79). Cf. Nützel, nos. 222–4. Numerous other examples have been recorded. See *Unvala* (nos. 1103–48). There are at least five examples in the Istanbul Museum. Unvala (no. 1108) wrongly describes the AFZUT legend on the British Museum specimen as **۱۰۸۰** as can be seen by a reference to the Plate. He has also omitted to note the pellet over the s of the mint-name.

P. 139. 276. There is a similar coin in the Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford. A specimen of this coin, but without pellet over mint-name, is illustrated in Lindberg's *Lettre à M. le Chevalier P. O. Bröndsted*, 1830, p. 8, Pl. II, no. 9, but the Pehlevi inscriptions had not as yet been deciphered by Olshausen so that only the Kufic legend of 'Umar was read and the coin was wrongly ascribed to the early Caliph of that name. An example probably of this date is recorded by J. Leitzmann (in his *Num. Zeitschr.*, 1851, p. 1.) and in the Thomsen Sale Catalogue (no. 874).

P. 140. 277. (Glendining Sale, May 24, 1938.) This is a variety not recorded by Unvala (nos. 1162–86 a).

P. 140. ANS. 19. Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 18, Pl. no. 2) illustrated a similar specimen in the Copenhagen Cabinet (= *Østrup*, no. 76). So did Niebuhr (*Beschreibung*, Pl. XII, no. 22). In addition to the examples cited by Unvala for this date I have noted: Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 114, nos. 71 and 72); Dorn (*Mélanges*, vi, p. 143); and one in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. There is one illustrated in v. Schrötter's *Wörterbuch*, Pl. 25, no. 409. The specimen mentioned by Markoff (*Monnaies Arsacides*, etc., p. 126, no. 25) is wrongly cited by Unvala (no. 2055) as if the Pehlevi legend in the third quarter of the margin were missing and as if the date were 128. Markoff, incidentally, wrongly characterizes the Arabic script of the name-legend as *nashki*. He gives also nine others (*ibid.*, nos. 26–34) of this date with margin as on no. 277 above.

Unvala (nos. 2056-64), however, has contrived to subdivide these into two varieties quite without reason.

P. 140. 278. This is the coin illustrated in *Numismata Orientalia* (Pl. XXIX, no. DXLII). Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 9) has given the wrong reference to Marsden, a mistake repeated by Unvala (p. xxvi, note 5). A specimen of this coin in the Collection of Count von Wiczay (*Catalogue*, no. 6359, Pl. XXVII, no. 588) was illustrated but not attributed until Olshausen read the legends (*op. cit.*, p. 29). See also Kraft (p. 12, no. 5).

P. 141. 280. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 489, nos. 95 and 96) records two examples of this date, one with, and the other without the small crescent over l. shoulder.

P. 141. 281. (Glendining Sale, May 24, 1938.) See also *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 434. In addition to the varieties cited by Unvala (nos. 1187-1230), there is one like no. 278 above in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University (Coats Collection, *MS. Catalogue*, no. 3524, where, however, it is wrongly read as 125). A specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has been wrongly dated by Lavoix (no. 155) to the year 128.

P. 141. 282. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 10) and by Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 27).

P. 141. 283. Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 115, nos. 75 and 76) records two varieties of this date, one with pellet l. and r. of flames, and another with pellet over s of vist in the date. Some other varieties are given by Unvala (nos. 1237-55). There are also two specimens in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 142. I. 53. This coin was apparently not known to Ghalib Edhem when he compiled his catalogue, otherwise he would not have called the governor Sa'id ibn 'Amr (p. 15). The earliest mention of a coin of this type, but without date, is that given by Fraehn as quoted above (p. 142). Dorn (*Mélanges*, ii, p. 260), recorded one in the St. Petersburg Academy Museum of this year, but without reproduction. See also Dorn, *Das Asiatische Museum*, p. 41. The first example to be illustrated is one in the Unvala Collection, now in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay (*Unvala*, no. 1261). Unvala also records one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which has been acquired since Lavoix published his Catalogue.

P. 143. I. 54. There is another example (no. 34). Tornberg (*Symbolae*, iii, pp. 26-7, Pl. I, no. 4) published a similar example in 1856. An example in the Subhi Pasha Collection was recorded by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 475, no. 186), who described the arabesques in the first and fourth quarters of the obverse as lilies. (So also *Unvala*, p. 12). Tornberg correctly identified the governor whose coins these are as Yahyā ibn Mikhnāk; though Mordtmann wrongly attributed them (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 110, no. 8) to a successor called Yahyā al-Harashī, whose coinage is described p. 143, no. 284.

P. 143. C. 7. Østrup's suggested date 139 is impossible. Strange to say he failed to read the governor's name. Although the coin is a poor specimen I have illustrated it to show that the Arabic legend at all events is beyond question. Unvala (no. 1267) correctly attributed it to Yahyā.

P. 143. O. 9. A coin of similar date but without details or references was reported by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 110, no. 8). Unvala (no. 1272) mentions a further example in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, but apparently it has

no additional initial letter in the date. Cf. the observations made under Th. 19, p. 203. The above date might readily be mistaken for ᢪHILST: (i.e. 140), but for the fact that the L would be joined to or curved towards the following letter. Cf. *Kudaid* 140 and 'Abdallāh 140.

P. 143. 284. This unique coin was first published by the writer in *Num. Chron.*, 1935, pp. 251–3. As can be readily seen from an examination of the plate the date is somewhat unusual. Although at first ascribed to the year 141 a further examination of the legend together with the historical data we possess (see Introduction) regarding al-Harashi, makes the above date the more probable one. With this date Dr. Unvala is also in agreement (no. 1273).

P. 144. B. 43. A coin said to be of this date was published, with illustration of obverse only, by Prince Gagarine in 1862 (*Lettre*, p. 9), and Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 111, no. 11) mentioned another but without any descriptive details. According to Unvala (nos. 1325–40) there are numerous specimens known to him in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, in the Ermitage, Leningrad, and in the Muracciole Collection, Teheran.

P. 145. 287. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, pp. 176–7, no. 903) mentioned a coin of Sulaimān of this date in his own collection. Since he did not describe the remarkable obverse difference, Soret in his note to Prince Gagarine's *Lettre*, p. 9, concluded that it was of the usual type found on the coins of the other governors. There is no reason to suppose that such was the case. There are fifteen varieties of this date recorded in the Berlin Catalogue (nos. 240–55) one of which is illustrated (Pl. III). In addition to the numerous examples cited by Unvala (nos. 1342–1485 and 2065–6) there are three in the Istanbul Museum, two of which were catalogued by Ghalib Edhem (nos. 31–2), the former one being illustrated (Pl. I). The specimen in the Copenhagen Cabinet has been catalogued recently by Østrup (no. 83), who, like Mordtmann, does not point out the unusual change of obverse type, and in consequence his description is inclined to be misleading. Thomas's reference (*J.R.A.S.*, 1871, p. 458, no. 9), copied by Unvala (p. 30 fn. 7), ought to be corrected to 'Djevdet-Efendi (*Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 185, no. 7)'. The no. 903 which is added belongs to Mordtmann's coin quoted above, and has been misplaced. Markoff (*Monnaies Arsacides*, etc., pp. 126–7, nos. 35 and 36), also recorded two, both of which he illustrated (Pl. II), but strange to say he characterized the script of Sulaimān's name as *Naskhi*. There was also one in the Windisch-Grätz Collection (*Zambaur*, no. 12). Mordtmann also recorded one in 1850 (*Z.D.M.G.*, pp. 91–2, with rough drawing), in the collection of Baron Tecco.

P. 145. 288. This is the only coin of Sulaimān of this date so far published. In the Karabacek Sale Catalogue (*Schulman*, Nov., 1907, no. 1092, Pl. I, where plate reference is wrongly marked 1029) there is a coin ascribed to this year but it is really of the year 137.

P. 145. Z. 5. Of the two specimens in the Berlin Catalogue (nos. 234–5) the former is illustrated (Pl. III). Unvala (nos. 1496–7) records other two amongst subsequent acquisitions. In addition to the examples cited by Unvala mention should be made of the one in the Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, no. 43), which was wrongly catalogued as of the year 140, and which Unvala (no. 1530) has also misinterpreted as 137 from a cast of this coin which I communicated to him. The engraving of the numeral **cio** (PNJ) is apt to be mistaken in this case

for **دَوْ** (HFT) as Unvala has done. There is also said to be a specimen in the Collection of Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe. See also *Olshausen* (p. 29). Examples are also known of this year with Jarīr's name in the margin but with AFZUT in the field instead of the name-legend. These are described on p. 156.

P. 145. 289. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 489, no. 98) described one of this year with small star l. and r. of flames. For some other varieties see Unvala (nos. 1500–21).

P. 145. C. 8. This is the coin first recorded by Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 20 = Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 176, no. 902). Another of the same date is described by Nützel (no. 238). It weighs 31.8 gr. (2.06 grm.). Unvala states in his note 3, p. xxxii, that Thomas described a specimen of this date in the British Museum. This is not the case. In the same way Unvala (no. 1530) wrongly ascribes to this year the coin of Jarīr in the Istanbul Museum which is really dated 135 (see above, note to Z. 5). For other specimens seen by him in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, and in the Ermitage, Leningrad, see his nos. 1525–7 and 1529.

See also note on the coin of Jarīr which was wrongly ascribed to *Bishr ibn Marwān* (note to Th. 13 on pp. 195–6).

P. 146. 290. The only other certain specimen of this date is recorded by Unvala (no. 1534), in the Zubov Collection, Moscow. It has a slight variation in the spelling of the date.

A coin of this year with Ma'add's name on the margin and with AFZUT in the field in place of the name-legend is described on p. 158. This governor's name-legend might also be read as Mu'ādh (مُعَاذ <sup>و</sup>scriptio defectiva for معاذ) as Dorn (*Mélanges*, iii, p. 505) has suggested.

P. 147. 291. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 16). The specimen in the Copenhagen Cabinet was illustrated by Olshausen (*op. cit.*, Pl. no. 4 = Østrup, no. 84 = *Unvala*, no. 1596, where the Kufic letter below the governor's name is wrongly reproduced). A specimen obviously of this date was reproduced by Longpérier (*Médailles*, Pl. XII, no. 5), but quite wrongly ascribed. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 490; no. 101) described an example with breast-ornament . Of the six specimens of this date in the Berlin Museum (Nützel, nos. 256–61) the obverse of one has been illustrated (Pl. III, no. 256). In addition to the examples cited by Unvala there are four in the Istanbul Museum, two of which have been mentioned by Ghalib Edhem in his *Catalogue* (nos. 35, 36). See also *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 434. Unvala (nos. 1537–8) has on p. 12 § 6 of his Introduction made a new variety of reverse margin through misreading Mordtmann's statement in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 490, no. 100.

P. 147. 295. This is the coin mentioned by Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 17). Nos. 292 and 294 are the two coins mentioned by Olshausen (*op. cit.*, p. 28).

P. 147. C. 9. A comparison with Unvala (no. 1617) shows the deficiencies in his transcriptions. In addition to the examples cited by Unvala there are two specimens in the Istanbul Museum which have been published by Ghalib Edhem in his *Catalogue* (nos. 37, 38).

P. 149. U. 8. This is one of two specimens recently acquired by Dr. Unvala since the publication of his *Numismatique du Tabaristān* in which he recorded a specimen seen by him in the Zubov Collection, Moscow.

P. 149. ANS. 20. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1871, pp. 458–9, no. 10) mentioned an example of this date but without any description or reproduction. Unvala (nos. 1287–92) gives one or two more specimens. The two coins of Muğātil in the Istanbul Museum ascribed to this year by Ghalib Edhem in his Catalogue (nos. 39, 40) are, as I have found on examination, of the year 139.

P. 149. 296. Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 347, no. 15) read this and nos. 297 and 298 below correctly as 139, yet on a similar coin described by him (*J.R.A.S.*, 1871, pp. 458–9, no. 10, Pl. II, no. 15) he contrived to read the same date as 129. See T. 19, p. 148. The spellings given by Unvala (nos. 1293–4) for the date 139 are quite without foundation.

P. 149. C. 10. This is the coin which has been wrongly dated by several authorities (see above, U. 6, p. 148). A coin of this date was also illustrated by Longpérier (*Médailles*, Pl. XII, no. 6), but quite wrongly attributed. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, pp. 490–1, nos. 103 and 104) describes two coins of this year with breast-ornament , on one there is a star l. and a crescent r. of the flames, while on the other there is a star on each side. Of the specimens in the Berlin Museum (*Nützel*, nos. 262–4) the obverse of one is illustrated (Pl. III, no. 262). As has been noted above, the two specimens published in the Istanbul Museum Catalogue under the year 138 are really dated 139. In addition to the numerous examples cited by Unvala there is a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Unvala has since communicated to me four specimens he has recently acquired. See also *Num. Circ.*, 1935, fol. 434.

P. 150. U. 10. This and U. 9 are two of the four specimens recently acquired by Dr. Unvala since the publication of his monograph. The form of the numeral thirty on the coins of this date is interesting.

P. 150. U. 12. Dr. Unvala has very generously allowed me to publish this and the preceding coin, both from his private collection, which he has acquired since the publication of his book. Both coins are so far unique and are published for the first time.

P. 150. I. 55. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 491, no. 105) described a similar specimen in the von Prokesch Osten Collection. Unvala (no. 1624) has described another in the Hermitage, Leningrad.

P. 150. 300. This specimen, the only one of this governor so far in the National Collection, is unfortunately too much worn to be worth illustrating. The specimen in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (*Nützel*, no. 265, Pl. III), is of the same variety.

P. 151. Th. 20. (ex Prince Philippe of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha Collection). Unvala (no. 1647) gives a wrong transcription of the date on this coin, a cast of which I communicated to him.

P. 151. Z. 6. There is also one like this in the Osman Arıdağ Collection, Istanbul, and in the Unvala Collection.

P. 151. ANS. 21. The earliest mentioned example of this coin was one in Saveliev's book *Мухамеданская Нумизматика* which contains a section dealing with Pehlevi Inscriptions on the Coins of Tabaristān (p. 138), a fact recorded in *Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie et de numismatique de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. vii, p. 272, and in Mordtmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 177, no. 907. Dorn (*Mélanges*, ii, pp. 259–60) at first read the date as 104 but corrected this later (*ibid.*, p. 392). A second example was published by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 476, no. 193)

from the cabinet of von Prokesch Osten, and two other varieties (*ibid.*, p. 491, nos. 106 and 107) from the same source. In addition to several examples cited by Unvala there is one in the Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford, and Ghalib Edhem described one in the Istanbul Museum (*Catalogue*, no. 42). The Copenhagen specimens which Unvala mentions (nos. 1645 and 1646) have since been recorded by Østrup (nos. 87 and 88).

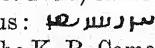
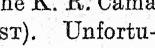
P. 151. U. 13. This unique coin is published here for the first time by kind permission of the owner, who acquired it after his own book had been published.

P. 152. U. 16. Zambaur (*Manuel*, p. 187) mentioned a coin in his own collection (now in the Vienna Museum) with the name Kudaid, but so far as I am aware he never published it. Unvala, however (no. 1657), has since then come across an example in the Muracciole Collection, Teheran, and has fortunately not only described but illustrated it for the first time. Since then he has purchased a further specimen in a bazaar in the East for his own collection. This is the one which he has kindly allowed me to reproduce here. Unvala's note (p. 21) of a coin of Kudaid of uncertain date in the Prince Gagarine Collection is without foundation.

P. 152. ANS. 22. Unvala mentions one or two more examples of this date (nos. 1659–62). The fragment (no. 1663 *a*), said to be vouched for by Tornberg, is of this date, but is not likely to be a coin of Ibrāhim because of the legend in the third quarter of the margin.

P. 152. ANS. 23. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 491, nos. 108 and 109) published two examples of this date, the one with star l. and crescent r. of flames, and the other with crescent l. and star r. of flames, the latter also being without the crescent over the l. shoulder on the obverse. In 1879 (*ibid.*, p. 111, no. 15) he had observed three varieties. Ghalib Edhem also published one in his Catalogue of the Istanbul Museum Collection (no. 45). Unvala has one or two additional examples (nos. 1666–71 and 1673–5). This is the first example to be illustrated.

P. 154. 301. Mordtmann reported one in the cabinet of Dr. Rosen (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1848, p. 109) and one in his own collection (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 176, no. 898), but with few details. In 1865 (*ibid.*, pp. 491–2, no. 110) he described more carefully another specimen which tallies with the above. The obverse of one of the examples in the Berlin Cabinet is illustrated by Nützel (Pl. III, no. 267). Numerous other examples are cited by Unvala (nos. 1687–1713 and 2068–71), including one (no. 1710) in the Ermitage, Leningrad, which he says is almost silver-plated. In addition, I have noted several specimens in the Istanbul Museum. See also *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 434. There is also one in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Unvala has an AFZUT coin in copper (no. 1714) which he ascribes to this date. It is discussed on p. 161.

P. 154. 302. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 475, no. 187) ascribed a coin of this type to this year with a form which he read as *je si sat*. Unvala (no. 1715) has accepted this. In my opinion it is more likely to be 130 (SIVST). Unvala, however, reports two other specimens of this date. One (no. 1716) in the Zubov Collection, Moscow, has apparently the date written thus:  (= AYKSIST); while the other in Unvala's own collection now in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, has the form  (= YAJSIVST). Unfortunately he did not illustrate this.

P. 154. 303. An example with this form of date was published by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 176, no. 899) and another variety later (*ibid.*, 1865, p. 492, no. 112) with nothing l. or r. of flames. One of the examples recorded by Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 116, no. 77) is said to have a pellet over the P of the mint-name. But the fact that the Pehlevi word *du* of the date is said to be inclined to the side suggests the possibility that the coin is really dated 133 (۱۳۳ سی و سی) as on no. 305 below, which Unvala (no. 1726) actually dates as 132. The same, in my opinion, is the case with the Berlin Museum coin (*Nützel*, no. 269) which is more likely to be 133. There is always this possibility of confusion to be guarded against due to the similarity between 2 (پ) and 3 (س).

P. 154. 304. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1858, p. 56, no. 311 and 1865, p. 492, no. 111) recorded examples with the date in this form. So also Stickel (*op. cit.*, p. 116, no. 79). Various other examples are cited by Unvala. In addition I have seen five specimens in the Istanbul Museum.

P. 154. ANS. 24. Zambaur (*Kollektion Windisch-Grätz*, no. 9) has one of this date, and his no. 10, which he dates 133, must really be of 132 judging by his transcription of the Pehlevi legend (سی و دوست), unless the latter has been misplaced.

P. 155. 305. This is the coin given by Unvala (no. 1726) but dated by him 132. Mordtmann recorded an example of this year (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 492, no. 113). Cf. Stickel, *Handbuch*, p. 116, nos. 80 and 81. The latter coin has the triangle of pellets on the breast, but no small star beside flames on reverse.

P. 155. ANS. 25. In addition to the examples of this date cited by Unvala there is also one in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and several in the Istanbul Museum. See also *Num. Circ.*, 1935, col. 434.

P. 155. 306. Mordtmann published examples of this date in 1854 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 176, no. 900).

P. 155. ANS. 26. Cf. Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 116, no. 82).

P. 155. Z. 7. Cf. Stickel (*op. cit.*, p. 117, no. 84). In addition to the varieties cited by Unvala there are specimens in the Istanbul Museum and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

P. 156. O. 10. A specimen of this type was published by Mordtmann in 1865 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 492, no. 115). Other examples are mentioned by Unvala (nos. 1795, 1811–24) in Paris, Moscow, and Leningrad.

P. 156. 307. Mordtmann mentioned one in 1848 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 109) and a specimen of this type was described by Dorn in 1858 (*Mélanges*, iii, p. 504, no. 1, though given by mistake as 30). Nützel published another in his Catalogue of the Berlin Museum (no. 279). No specimen has been illustrated before now.

P. 156. 308. Mordtmann published a similar example in 1865 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 489, no. 97). Nützel also described one in his Catalogue (no. 278). There is also one illustrated in Fraehn's *Ibn Foslan*, Pl. C, pp. 85–6 and 251, although the Pehlevi legends are not interpreted.

P. 156. ANS. 28. Unvala cites other examples of this type (nos. 1836, 1847–55, and 1877) in Paris, Moscow, and Leningrad. See also Zambaur (*Kollektion Windisch-Grätz*, no. 11).

P. 157. Ox. 9. In 1865 (*Z.D.M.G.*, p. 476, no. 189, and p. 492, nos. 117–18) Mordtmann described examples of this date and type. In addition to the

numerous specimens cited by Unvala, there are six in the Istanbul Museum, and another in the Ashmolean besides the one illustrated here.

P. 157. 312. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1854, p. 176, no. 901) described one of the specimens of this type and date in the Berlin Museum, later catalogued by Nützel (nos. 280-4). See *Olshausen*, pp. 73-4.

P. 157. ANS. 31. In addition to the other examples of this year cited by Unvala, there are specimens in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and in the Philip Ziegler Collection, Manchester (wt. 30.5 gr.). The specimen in the Copenhagen Cabinet (*Østrup*, no. 72) is wrongly attributed to the governor Khālid and the date read as 119. Prince Gagarine (*Lettre*, p. 9, no. 3) mentioned a coin of this date in his collection which was said to have the name  Jarīr in the margin as on no. 308 above, but, unfortunately, it was not illustrated. No other such specimen is known.

P. 158. ETN. 23. The coins described by Nützel in his Catalogue (nos. 285-8) are similar to the above, but the other coins in the Berlin Cabinet (nos. 289-90) which Nützel also attributes to this year are obviously, as can be seen from his Plate III, of a later style and date, namely 142. Unvala (nos. 1927-8) has made the same mistake and read the legend as a defective HF(T)SIVST i.e. 137 instead of as a perfectly normal DUJHILST i.e. 142 (see RB. 11, p. 159).

P. 158. Ox. 10. This is the first example of this type and year to be published. It must be noted, however, that apart from the top of the first T of the date being unmistakable the date might be read as 136.

P. 158. Flag. 2. This unique coin was first published by Père Paulin Lemaire in *Num. Chron.*, 1938, p. 296, fig. 1. For the regular coins of this governor, also of this year, see above, no. 290, p. 146.

P. 159. 313. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 493, nos. 121-5) describes several varieties all of which on the obverse are said to have a crescent before the beard. I have never seen any such specimen. The varieties consist of star r. and crescent l. of flames or as above; pellet r. and l. of flames; and star r. and l. of flames. The two examples in the Copenhagen Cabinet are wrongly described in *Østrup* (nos. 89 and 90) and ascribed to the year 142. Nützel (nos. 290a and 290b) has two of this date though his transcription is at fault.

P. 159. RB. 11. (ex Seaby=Unvala, no. 1974.) Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 493, no. 126) describes a specimen like this with ☉ on the breast and, in addition, apparently with a crescent before the beard. This last detail I suspect (see note to 313). For some other specimens with the above variety of marginal legend see Unvala (nos. 1975-7 and 1989). As already noted above (note to no. 313) the two Copenhagen specimens (*Østrup*, nos. 89 and 90) are wrongly ascribed to this year.

P. 159. ANS. 32. Various examples of this new type with longer marginal legends and extra outer circles are recorded by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 493, no. 127). He noted the following breast-ornaments in addition to the above س ب ج: and also recorded the following reverse variations, in addition to the above: (1) pellet l. and crescent r.; (2) crescent l. and star r.; and (3) crescent l. and pellet r. of flames. He incidentally interprets the Kufic letter ع and the legend in the fourth quarter ع as being the beginning of the name of 'Umar (ع in Arabic and ءمر in Pehlevi). The example cited by Unvala (no. 1970) from the British Museum as being of this year is really dated 143

(see no. 314, p. 160). Nützel illustrated a variety of this type and date in his Catalogue of the Berlin Cabinet (no. 289, Pl. III) but unfortunately, as I have already pointed out, he wrongly ascribed it to the year 137.

P. 160. 316. This is the coin wrongly ascribed by Unvala (no. 1970) to the preceding year.

P. 160. ANS. 33. Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1865, p. 494, no. 129) described a similar one with star l. and crescent r. of flames. He also mentioned an example of this year (*ibid.*, no. 128), which, judging by his reference to a previous coin, must have had the old type of marginal legends as found on nos. 301-13 above. Unvala has incorporated this as such into his book (nos. 1990-1). I suspect that Mordtmann's reference is wrong (read 127 for 121) and that the marginal legend on the coin in question was the normal one as on the above. At all events what is quite certain is that Unvala's nos. 1990 and 1991 which he describes as if they were alike, are, if we follow Mordtmann, to whom he refers, quite different. The specimen mentioned by Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 119, no. 89) is quite possibly not 143 but really 142 and similar to the coin of that date mentioned by Mordtmann (*ibid.*, p. 493, no. 126). All this confusion would have been avoided if the coins in question had been illustrated. I feel in consequence—in the absence of any reproduction—no confidence in the other example said to be of the old type and of the year 143 described by Unvala (no. 1996) as being in the Zubov Collection, Moscow. Incidentally Unvala has mixed up his references to Mordtmann in his nos. 1965 and 1990-1.

P. 160. Ties. 4. This remarkable coin was first published and illustrated by Tiesenhausen from the Linevitch Collection (*Zapiski*, ix, pp. 224-5) and mentioned by Vasmer in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (art. *Mazandarān*, p. 429). The coin which is in the Ermitage, Leningrad, has recently been republished by Unvala (no. 2013, Pl.). Tiesenhausen equated the date 161 with A.H. 196. It should be 197.

P. 162. b. 1. The specimen illustrated by Thomas (*Num. Chron.*, 1881, Pl. VI, 3) also bears the same countermark.

P. 163. b. 4. Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 122, no. 91, Pl.) has wrongly interpreted the corrupt Pehlevi legend as Arabic (جَانْ) and as a new *Münzterminus*.

P. 163 f. b. 5-b. 8. These coins have been regarded by some numismatists as having Arabic legends. With this I cannot agree, see Introduction. The number of specimens of each variety in the Museum trays is as follows: b. 5 (3); b. 6 (2); b. 7 (5); and b. 8 (7). The last variety continues throughout the issues of the 'Abbāsid governors.

P. 164. 319. Cf. Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 121, no. 90, Pl.); Weyl (*Fonrobert-sche Sammlung*, p. 395, no. 6719) and Zambaur (*Kollektion Windisch-Grätz*, nos. 13-15).

P. 165. 324. This is the specimen mentioned by Thomas (*Prinsep's Essays*, ii, p. 117).

P. 166. AF. 1. Illustrated by the owner in his article in *Num. Chron.*, 1927, Pl. VIII, no. 8. Another example of this rare variety is illustrated in Tiesenhausen's article in *Transactions of the Russian Archaeological Society*, vol. vi, 1891, p. 230.

P. 167. Ties. 5. This is a unique coin first published by Tiesenhausen (*Notice sur une collection de monnaies orientales de M. le Comte S. Stroganoff*,

St. Petersburg, 1880, p. 11, Pl. I, no. 5). Only the obverse was illustrated, so presumably the reverse differed in no noticeable degree from the usual type. This coin corresponds to no. 28 in Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe's list (*op. cit.*, p. 171).

P. 167. I. 57. This is a unique coin in the Istanbul Museum which I have been enabled to publish here for the first time by kind permission of the Director Aziz Oğan. Unfortunately the coin is broken, so that it is too fragile to be cast for reproduction without endangering it further. The drawing which I made of its essential features on the spot in October 1937 is perhaps a sufficient substitute.

P. 168. 344. Thomas (*Prinsep's Essays*, ii, p. 118) mistakenly considered that the pedestal of the altar was formed of the Kufic word  $\lambda\mu$ .

P. 169. Nej. 1. First published by Fraehn (*Novae Symbolae*, St. Petersburg, 1819, pp. 45–6, Pl. II, no. 14 and again in his *Die Münzen der Chane vom Ulus Dschutschi's*, St. Petersburg, 1832, pp. 53–6 where he records another, though poorer, specimen in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy). See also Dorn, *Das Asiatische Museum*, p. 424.

Soret (in his *Lettre à M. François Duval*, 1843, p. 13) mentions ‘une nouvelle variété en bronze’ of this coin which he declares completes the legend on the Nejelow specimen. Stickel (*Handbuch*, ii, p. 122) reads differently from both Fraehn and Soret. See Introduction, p. xcvi.

P. 170. 351. This is the coin I communicated to Dr. Unvala with whose interpretation of the legends in his article (*Num. Chron.*, 1937, p. 286, Pl. XXXIV, no. 4) I cannot agree. See below, no. 352.

P. 170. 352. The coin probably came from Sistān with so many more presented by this donor. I communicated it to Dr. Unvala (*Num. Chron.*, *ibid.*, no. 3), who stated that the reading was doubtful. He failed to note that the first line was Arabic and that the legend is reversed on this specimen. While the middle line may be the Pehlevi NVAK . . . the last line is undoubtedly AFZUT as Dr. Unvala has also observed. It is the presence of the Arabic legend that places these coins definitely within the Muhammadan period. As to the date, it is more likely to be Umayyad than 'Abbāsid but there are no deciding elements.

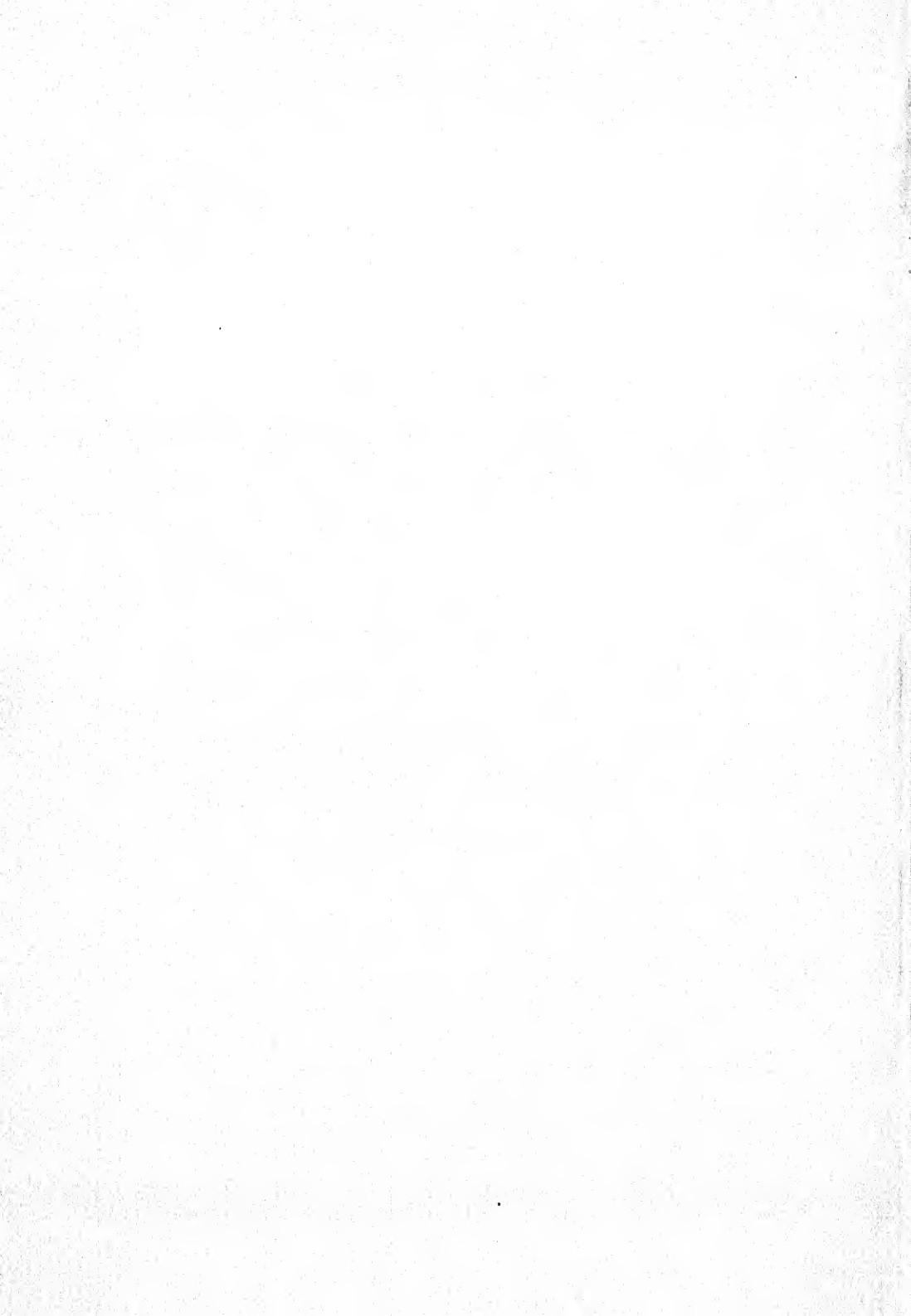
I have not included in this section several of the coins described by Dr. Unvala in his above-mentioned article as *monnaies arabes à légendes pehlievies*—particularly his nos. 1, 2, 11, and 12—as in my opinion they cannot with any certainty be ascribed to the Arab period. As for his nos. 6–10 (Byzantine Type) and 13–20 (Caliph Type) they will be considered in a following volume of this Catalogue. His Pegasus Type (nos. 21, 22) has no indication of Arabic influence; while his other coins 23–35, with the exception of no. 29 given below, are all without effigies and it is hoped will be described in a subsequent volume of this Catalogue where they properly belong, since, in spite of their Pehlevi legends, they do not have Sassanian busts and/or fire-altars, and in consequence do not come within the limits of the present volume.

P. 172. B. 44. It has been impossible to identify this governor. The coin, in all probability, was struck under the Umayyads perhaps about A.H. 67 or 68, but the date is by no means certain.

P. 173. U. 23. Unvala suggests that the uncertain Pehlevi legend on the reverse contains the name of the governor (of Iṣṭakhr perhaps) who struck the coin, as well as that of his father and grandfather. He reads lines 3 and 4 as Dātpērōč son of Mansūr. Judging by the name on the obverse one would expect the governor's name to be Mansūr. It is also possible that the name is that of the famous 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mansūr (A.H. 136–58 = A.D. 754–75). The latter was the conclusion of Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe. I am not myself prepared to dogmatize on the matter. Epigraphically the open form of the letter 'ain (ع) in the legend points to an early date more probably in the Umaiyad period.

In addition to the above isolated examples of the Arab-Sassanian type we find one or two cases where an effigy after the Sassanian fashion continues to be used on coins that have no Pehlevi legends at all. Such instances belong more appropriately to a subsequent volume of this Catalogue.

P. 174. I. 58. This and another specimen (no. 47) in the same Museum were published by Ghalib Edhem. Unvala (*Num. du Tabaristān*, p. 14) records other two examples in the Zubov Collection. Miles (*op. cit.*, p. 47, no. 68 E) mentions yet another now in the Berlin Museum (no. 127/1935 Gotha), which shows the marginal legend more distinctly as on no. 290 (see his Plate II). These remarkable coins are discussed in the Introduction, pp. xcvi f.



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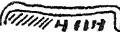
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0	20	31	651	45	65	77	696
1	21	32	652	46	66	78	697
2	22	33	653	47	67	79	698
3	23	34	654	48	68	80	699
4	24	35	655	49	69	81	700
5	25	36	656	50	70	82	701
6	26	37	657	51	71	83	702
7	27	38	658	52	72	84	703
8	28	39	659	53	73	85	704
9	29	40	660	54	74	86/7	705
10	30	41	661	55	75	88	706
11	31	42	662	56	76	89	707
12	32	43	663	57	77	90	708
13	33	44	664	58	78	91	709
14	34	45	665	59	79	92	710
15	35	46	666	60	80	93	711
16	36	47	667	61	81	94	712
17	37	48	668	62	82	95	713
18	38	49	669	63	83	96	714
19	39	50	670	64	84	97	715
20	40	51	671	65	85	98	716
21	41	52/3	672	66	86	99	717
22	42	54	673	67	87	100	718
23	43	55	674	68	88	101	719
24	44	56	675	69	89	102	720
25	45	57	676	70	90	103	721
26	46	58	677	71	91	104	722
27	47	59	678	72	92	105	723
28	48	60	679	73	93	106	724
29	49	61	680	74	94	107	725
30	50	62	681	75	95	108	726
31	51	63	682	76	96	109	727
32	52	64	683	77	97	110	728
33	53	65	684	78	98	111	729
34	54	66	685	79	99	112	730
35	55	67	686	80	100	113	731
36	56	68	687	81	101	114	732
37	57	69	688	82	102	115	733
38	58	70	689	83	103	116	734
39	59	71	690	84	104	117/18	735
40	60	72	691	85	105	119	736
41	61	73	692	86	106	120	737
42	62	74	693	87	107	121	738
43	63	75	694	88	108	122	739
44	64	76	695	89	109	123	740

## COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ERAS

Post-Yezdigird Era	Yezdigird Era	A.H.	A.D.	Post-Yezdigird Era	Yezdigird Era	A.H.	A.D.
90	110	124	741	126	146	161	777
91	111	125	742	127	147	162	778
92	112	126	743	128	148	163	779
93	113	127	744	129	149	164	780
94	114	128	745	130	150	165	781
95	115	129	746	131	151	166	782
96	116	130	747	132	152	167	783
97	117	131	748	133	153	168	784
98	118	132	749	134	154	169	785
99	119	133	750	135	155	170	786
100	120	134	751	136	156	171	787
101	121	135	752	137	157	172	788
102	122	136	753	138	158	173	789
103	123	137	754	139	159	174	790
104	124	138	755	140	160	175	791
105	125	139	756	141	161	176	792
106	126	140	757	142	162	177	793
107	127	141	758	143	163	178	794
108	128	142	759	144	164	179	795
109	129	143	760	145	165	180	796
110	130	144	761	146	166	181	797
111	131	145	762	147	167	182	798
112	132	146	763	148	168	183	799
113	133	147	764	149	169	184	800
114	134	148	765	150	170	185	801
115	135	149	766	151	171	186/7	802
116	136	150	767	152	172	188	803
117	137	151	768	153	173	189	804
118	138	152	769	154	174	190	805
119	139	153/4	770	155	175	191	806
120	140	155	771	156	176	192	807
121	141	156	772	157	177	193	808
122	142	157	773	158	178	194	809
123	143	158	774	159	179	195	810
124	144	159	775	160	180	196	811
125	145	160	776	161	181	197	812

TABLE  
FOR  
CONVERTING ENGLISH INCHES INTO MILLIMETRES  
AND THE  
MEASURES OF MIONNET'S SCALE

ENGLISH INCHES	MIONNET'S SCALE	FRENCH MILLIMETRES
4.		100
		95
		90
		85
3.	19	80
	18	75
	17	70
	16	65
	15	60
2.	14	55
	13	50
	12	45
	11	40
	10	35
1.	9	30
	8	25
	7	20
	6	15
	5	10
.9	4	5
	3	
.6	2	
.5	1	
.4		
.3		
.2		
.1		

TABLE  
OF  
THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND  
METRIC GRAMMES

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
1	.064	41	2.656	81	5.248	121	7.840
2	.129	42	2.720	82	5.312	122	7.905
3	.194	43	2.785	83	5.378	123	7.970
4	.259	44	2.850	84	5.442	124	8.035
5	.324	45	2.915	85	5.508	125	8.100
6	.388	46	2.980	86	5.572	126	8.164
7	.453	47	3.045	87	5.637	127	8.229
8	.518	48	3.110	88	5.702	128	8.294
9	.583	49	3.175	89	5.767	129	8.359
10	.648	50	3.240	90	5.832	130	8.424
11	.712	51	3.304	91	5.896	131	8.488
12	.777	52	3.368	92	5.961	132	8.553
13	.842	53	3.434	93	6.026	133	8.618
14	.907	54	3.498	94	6.091	134	8.682
15	.972	55	3.564	95	6.156	135	8.747
16	1.036	56	3.628	96	6.220	136	8.812
17	1.101	57	3.693	97	6.285	137	8.877
18	1.166	58	3.758	98	6.350	138	8.942
19	1.231	59	3.823	99	6.415	139	9.007
20	1.296	60	3.888	100	6.480	140	9.072
21	1.360	61	3.952	101	6.544	141	9.136
22	1.425	62	4.017	102	6.609	142	9.200
23	1.490	63	4.082	103	6.674	143	9.265
24	1.555	64	4.146	104	6.739	144	9.330
25	1.620	65	4.211	105	6.804	145	9.395
26	1.684	66	4.276	106	6.868	146	9.460
27	1.749	67	4.341	107	6.933	147	9.525
28	1.814	68	4.406	108	6.998	148	9.590
29	1.879	69	4.471	109	7.063	149	9.655
30	1.944	70	4.536	110	7.128	150	9.720
31	2.008	71	4.600	111	7.192	151	9.784
32	2.073	72	4.665	112	7.257	152	9.848
33	2.138	73	4.729	113	7.322	153	9.914
34	2.202	74	4.794	114	7.387	154	9.978
35	2.267	75	4.859	115	7.452	155	10.044
36	2.332	76	4.924	116	7.516	156	10.108
37	2.397	77	4.989	117	7.581	157	10.173
38	2.462	78	5.054	118	7.646	158	10.238
39	2.527	79	5.119	119	7.711	159	10.303
40	2.592	80	5.184	120	7.776	160	10.368

TABLE  
OF  
THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND  
METRIC GRAMMES

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
161	10.432	201	13.024	241	15.616	290	18.79
162	10.497	202	13.089	242	15.680	300	19.44
163	10.562	203	13.154	243	15.745	310	20.08
164	10.626	204	13.219	244	15.810	320	20.73
165	10.691	205	13.284	245	15.875	330	21.38
166	10.756	206	13.348	246	15.940	340	22.02
167	10.821	207	13.413	247	16.005	350	22.67
168	10.886	208	13.478	248	16.070	360	23.32
169	10.951	209	13.543	249	16.135	370	23.97
170	11.016	210	13.608	250	16.200	380	24.62
171	11.080	211	13.672	251	16.264	390	25.27
172	11.145	212	13.737	252	16.328	400	25.92
173	11.209	213	13.802	253	16.394	410	26.56
174	11.274	214	13.867	254	16.458	420	27.20
175	11.339	215	13.932	255	16.524	430	27.85
176	11.404	216	13.996	256	16.588	440	28.50
177	11.469	217	14.061	257	16.653	450	29.15
178	11.534	218	14.126	258	16.718	460	29.80
179	11.599	219	14.191	259	16.783	470	30.45
180	11.664	220	14.256	260	16.848	480	31.10
181	11.728	221	14.320	261	16.912	490	31.75
182	11.792	222	14.385	262	16.977	500	32.40
183	11.858	223	14.450	263	17.042	510	33.04
184	11.922	224	14.515	264	17.106	520	33.68
185	11.988	225	14.580	265	17.171	530	34.34
186	12.052	226	14.644	266	17.236	540	34.98
187	12.117	227	14.709	267	17.301	550	35.64
188	12.182	228	14.774	268	17.366	560	36.28
189	12.247	229	14.839	269	17.431	570	36.93
190	12.312	230	14.904	270	17.496	580	37.58
191	12.376	231	14.968	271	17.560	590	38.23
192	12.441	232	15.033	272	17.625	600	38.88
193	12.506	233	15.098	273	17.689	700	45.36
194	12.571	234	15.162	274	17.754	800	51.84
195	12.636	235	15.227	275	17.819	900	58.32
196	12.700	236	15.292	276	17.884	1000	64.80
197	12.765	237	15.357	277	17.949	2000	129.60
198	12.830	238	15.422	278	18.014	3000	194.40
199	12.895	239	15.487	279	18.079	4000	259.20
200	12.960	240	15.552	280	18.144	5000	324.00



## CONCORDANCE OF PLATES

<i>Plate</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Page</i>
I. $\alpha$	2	IX. 1-2	50	7-9	91	XXV. 1-3	141
$\beta$	2	3	52	10-11	92	4-5	143
1-2	3	4	53	12	93	6-7	144
3-9	4	5-6	54	13-16	94	8-10	145
3-9	4	7-8	55			11	146
10	5	9-10	57	XVIII. 1-2	95	12-15	147
				3	96	16-17	149
II. 1	6	X. 1-4	58	4	97		
2	18	5	59	5-6	98	XXVI. 1-2	149
3-4	7	6	58	7-8	99	3-5	151
5-6	20	7-8	59	9-10	100	6-8	152
7	21	9	60	11-12	101	9-12	154
8	9	10	61			13-17	155
9-10	10	11	63	XIX. 1	102		
				2	101	XXVII. 1	155
III. 1	10	XI. 1-2	63	3	103	2-7	156
2	11	3	64	4	104	8-12	157
3-4	12	4	68	5	105	13	158
5	21	5	64	6	106	14-16	159
6-7	13	6	68	7-8	107	17-18	160
8-9	15	7-11	69	9	108		
10	16	12	70	10	109	XXVIII. a	162
		13	65	XX. 1	109	b 1-b 5	163
IV. 1	16	XII. 1-3	66	2	110	b 8	164
2	18	4-5	67	3-4	111	1-2	164
3-6	19	6-8	71	5	112		
7-8	20	9	72	6-8	113	XXIX. 1	164
9-10	21	10	71	9	116	2-4	165
		11	72	10	114	5-6	166
V. 1-2	26			7	111	7-11	168
3-4	27	XIII. 1	72	114		12	169
5	32	2-3	73	4	115		
6	30	4-6	74	5	116	XXX. $\gamma$	2
7	31	7-10	75	6	118	1	24
8	32			7	121	2-3	3
9-10	33	XIV. 1-3	76	8	118	4-6	6
		4-6	77	9-12	119	7-8	10
VI. 1	33	7-10	78			9	15
2-4	34	11-13	79	XXII. 1	119		
5-7	35	14-15	80	2-5	120	XXXI. 1	20
8	36			6	127	2	22
9-10	37	XV. 1-2	80	7-8	128	3-4	23
		3-6	81	9-10	129	5	24
VII. 1-3	38	7-9	82			6	26
4	39	10-12	83	XXIII. a-b	130	7-8	28
5-6	40	13	84	c-d	131	9	29
7-8	41	14	85	1-2	131	10	30
9	42			3-5	132		
10	43	XVI. 1	85	6-7	133		
11-12	45	2	86	8-10	134	XXXII. 1	32
13	44	3-5	87			2-3	34
		6-9	88	XXIV. 1	134	4	35
VIII. 1	36	10	89	2-3	135	5-6	36
2	45			4-6	137	7-8	38
3-5	47	XVII. 1-2	89	7-9	138	9	39
6-9	48	3-4	90	10-13	139	10	40
10	49	5	91	14-16	140	11-12	41
11	50	6	90	17	141	13	42

## CONCORDANCE OF PLATES

<i>Plate</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Page</i>
<b>XXXIII.</b> 1	42	5	85	3-4	121	8	151
	2	6	86	5-6	122	9	152
	3	7	87	7-8	124	10	154
	4-7	8	95	9	125	11-12	157
	8	9-10	96	10	126	13	158
	9					14-15	159
	10	58				16-17	160
		<b>XXXVI.</b> 1	97	<b>XXXVIII.</b> 1	127		
		2	99	2-4	128		
		3	101	5	136	<b>XL.</b> 1	42
<b>XXXIV.</b> 1-2	59	4	102	6	139	2	43
	3-4	5	103	7	140	3	56
	5-6	6	106	8	141	4	57
	7	7	107	9	143	5	60
	8	8	108	10-11	145	6	63
	9	9	110	12-13	147	7	74
	10	10	111	14	149	8	110
						9	143
<b>XXXV.</b> 1	77	<b>XXXVII.</b> 1	115	<b>XXXIX.</b> 1-2	149		
	2	82	2	3-7	150		
	3-4	84	116				



α

β

## SASSANIAN PROTOTYPES



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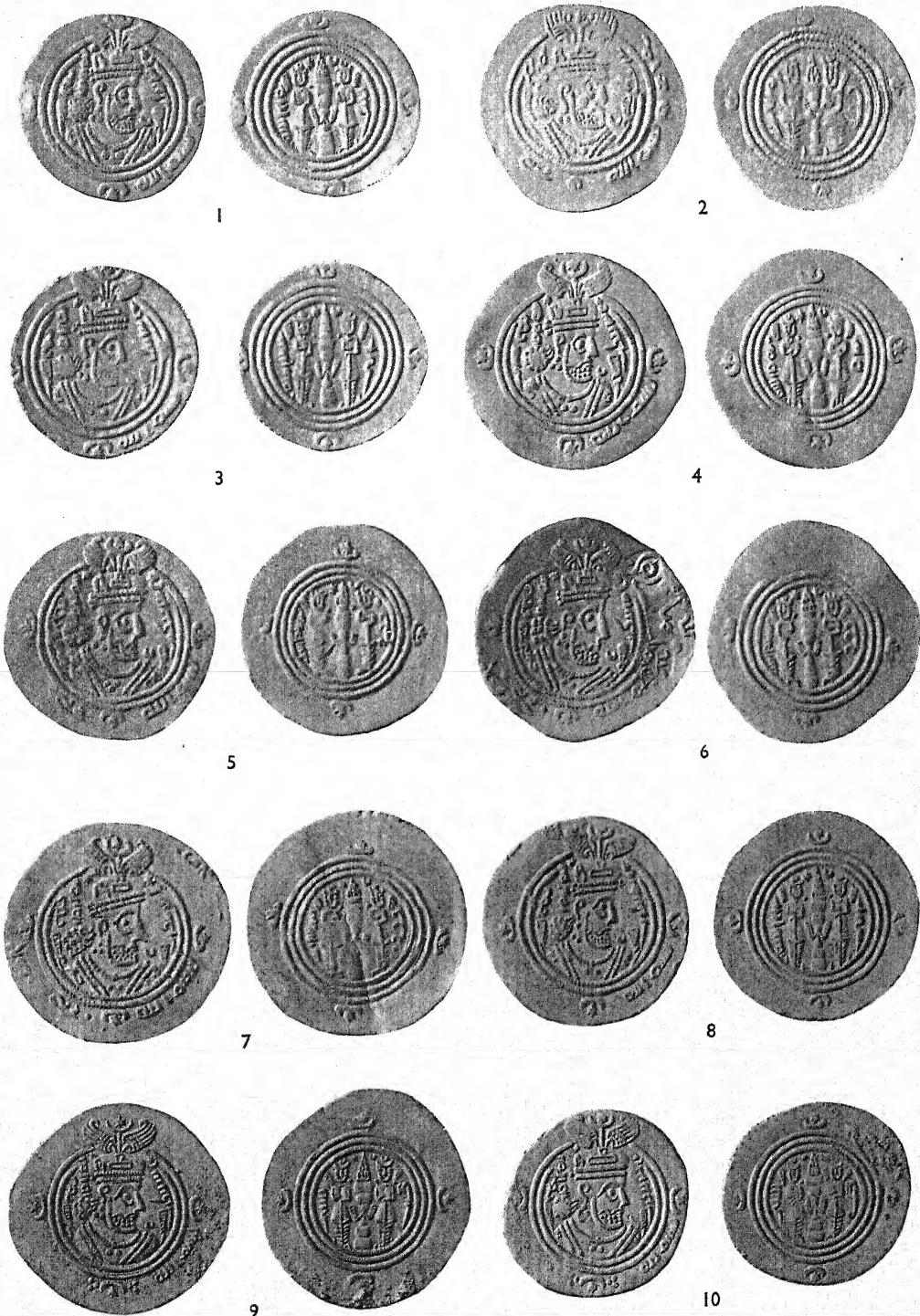
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## YEZDIGIRD III and KHUSRAU II TYPES



## ARAB-SASSANIAN

PLATE II



## KHUSRAU II TYPE





KHUSRAU II TYPE





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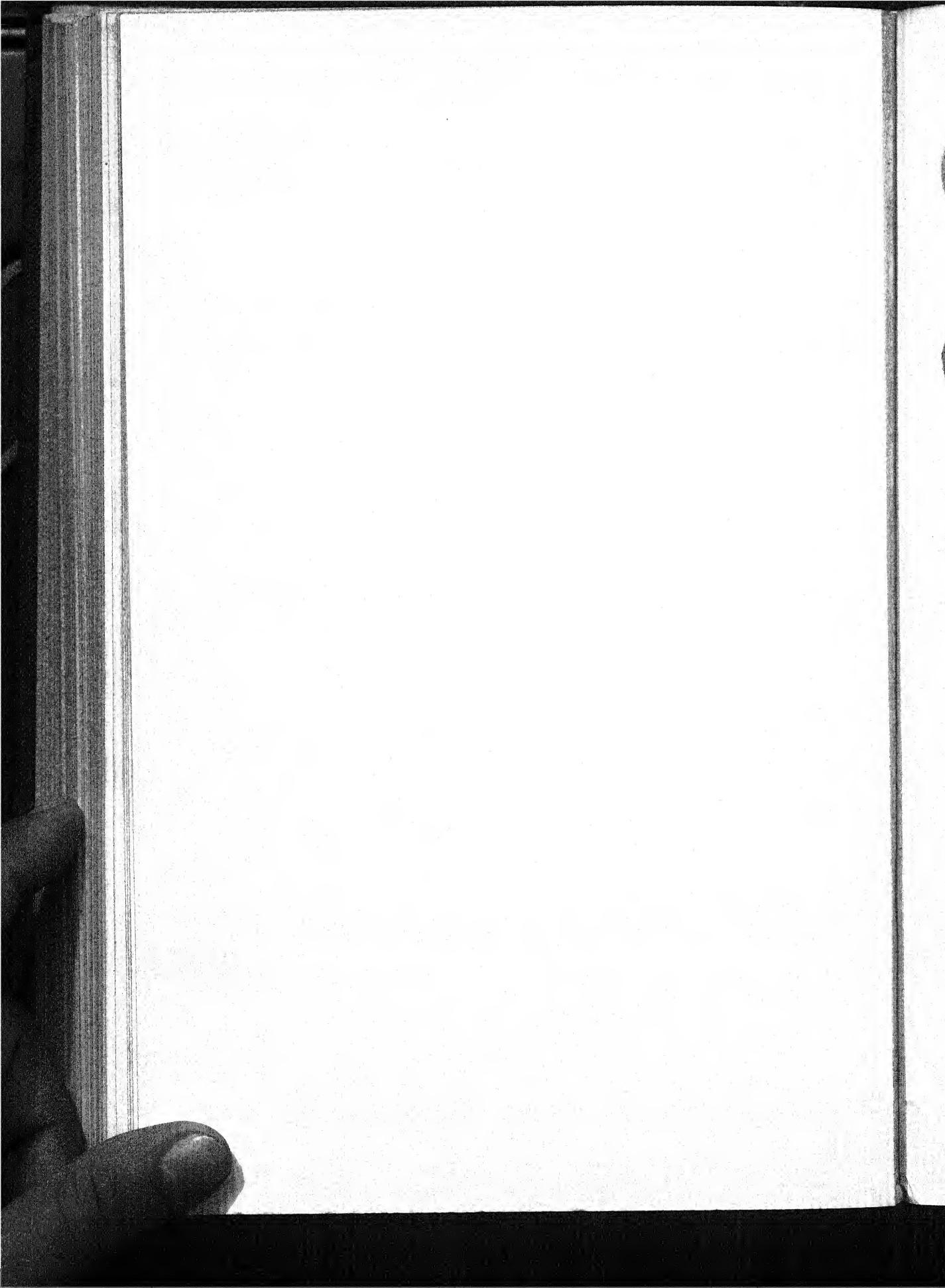


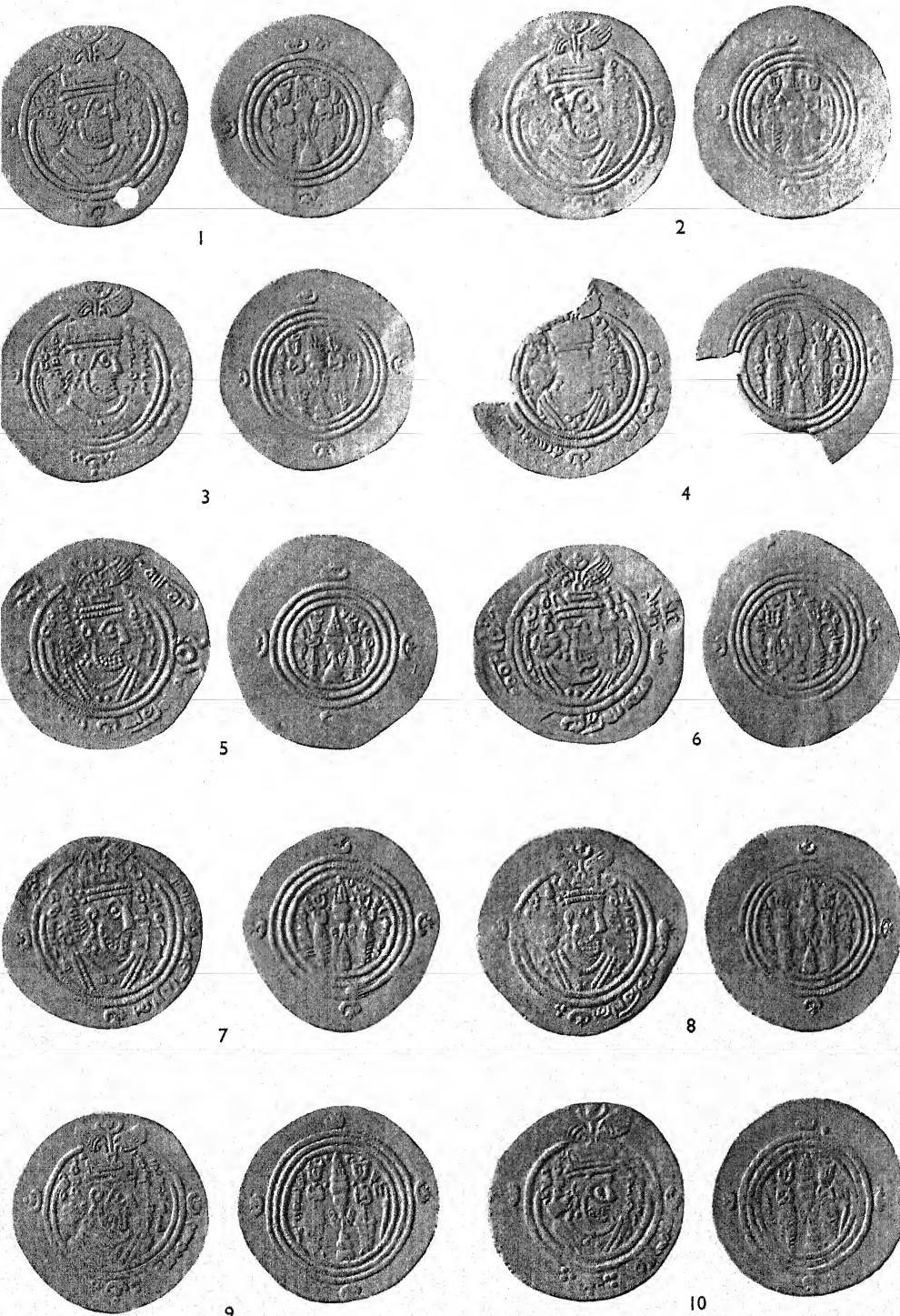
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KHUSRAU II TYPE

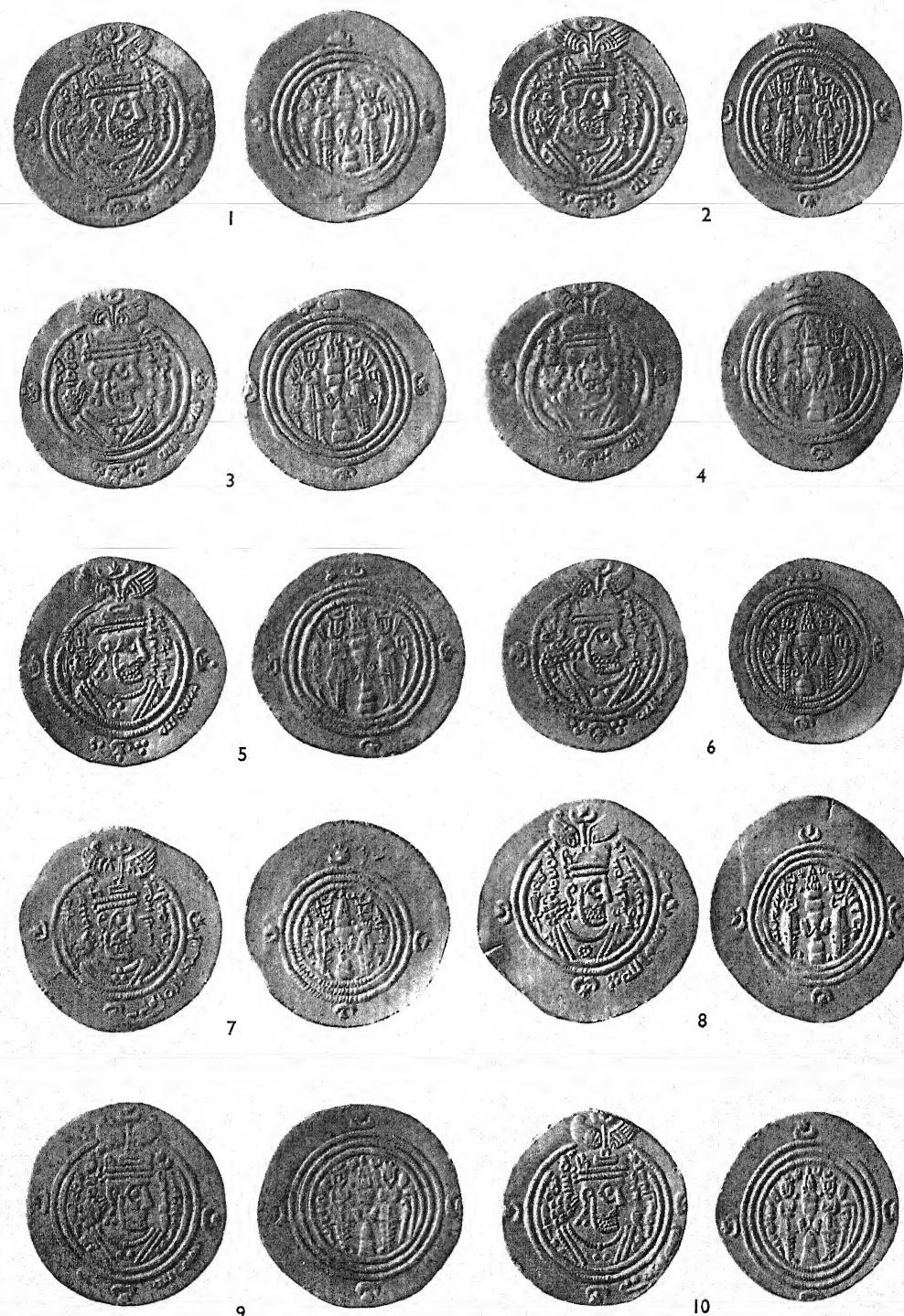




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'ABDALLĀH IBN AL-ZUBAIR

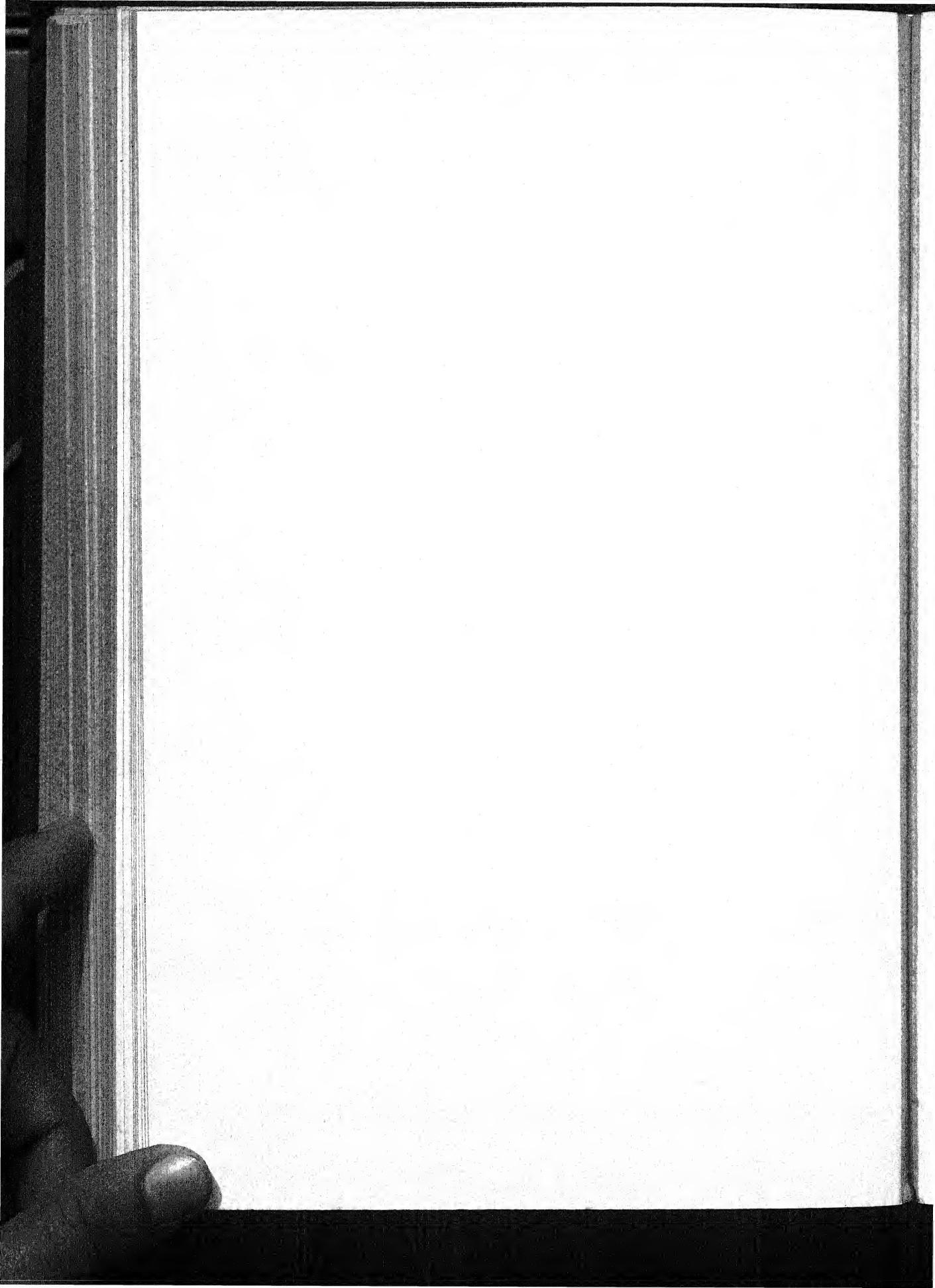
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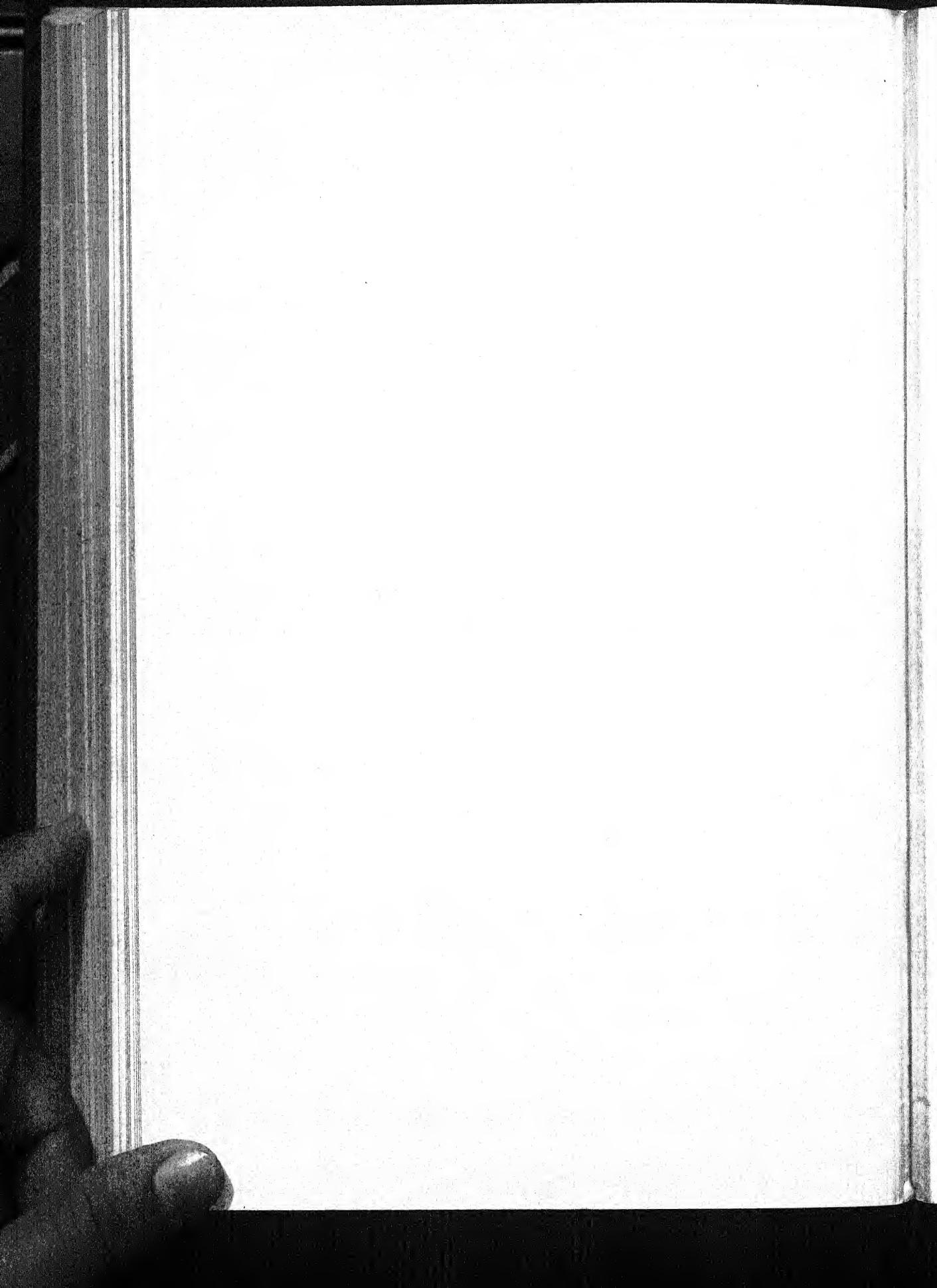
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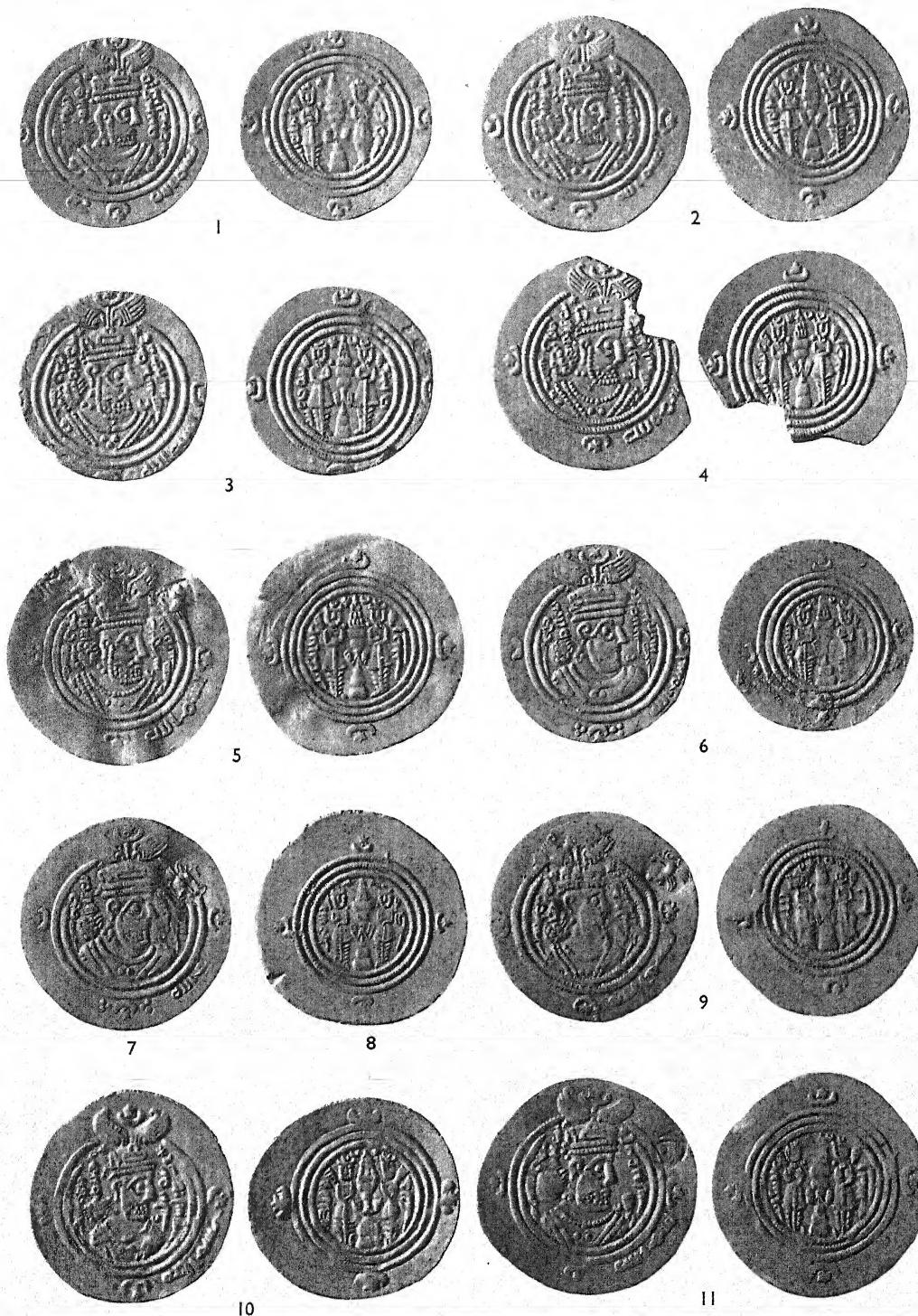
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ZIYĀD IBN ABĪ SUFYĀN

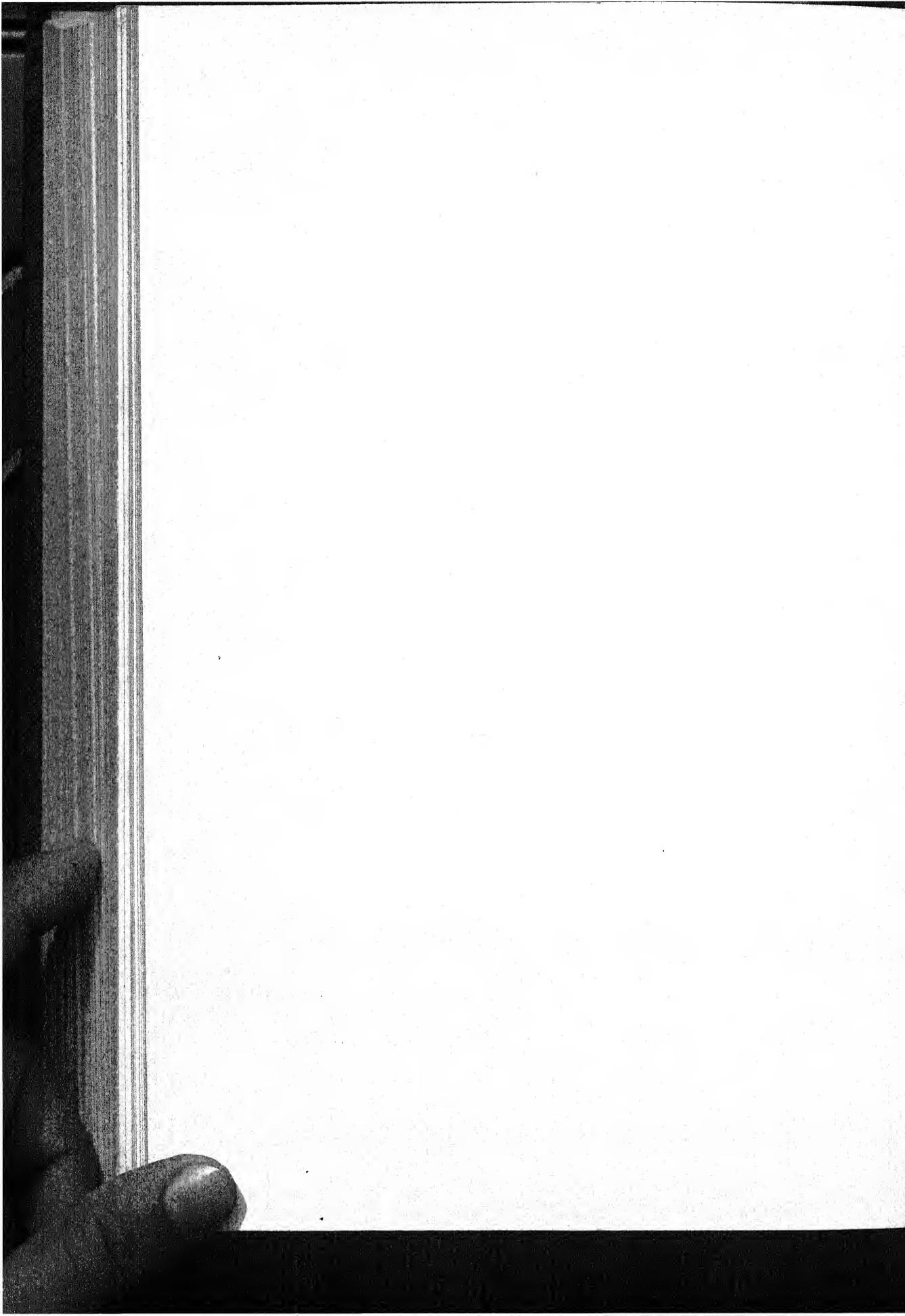




ZIYĀD IBN ABĪ SUFYĀN

'ABDALLĀH IBN 'ĀMIR

'ABDALLĀH



## ARAB-SASSANIAN

PLATE IX



1



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'ABDALLĀH

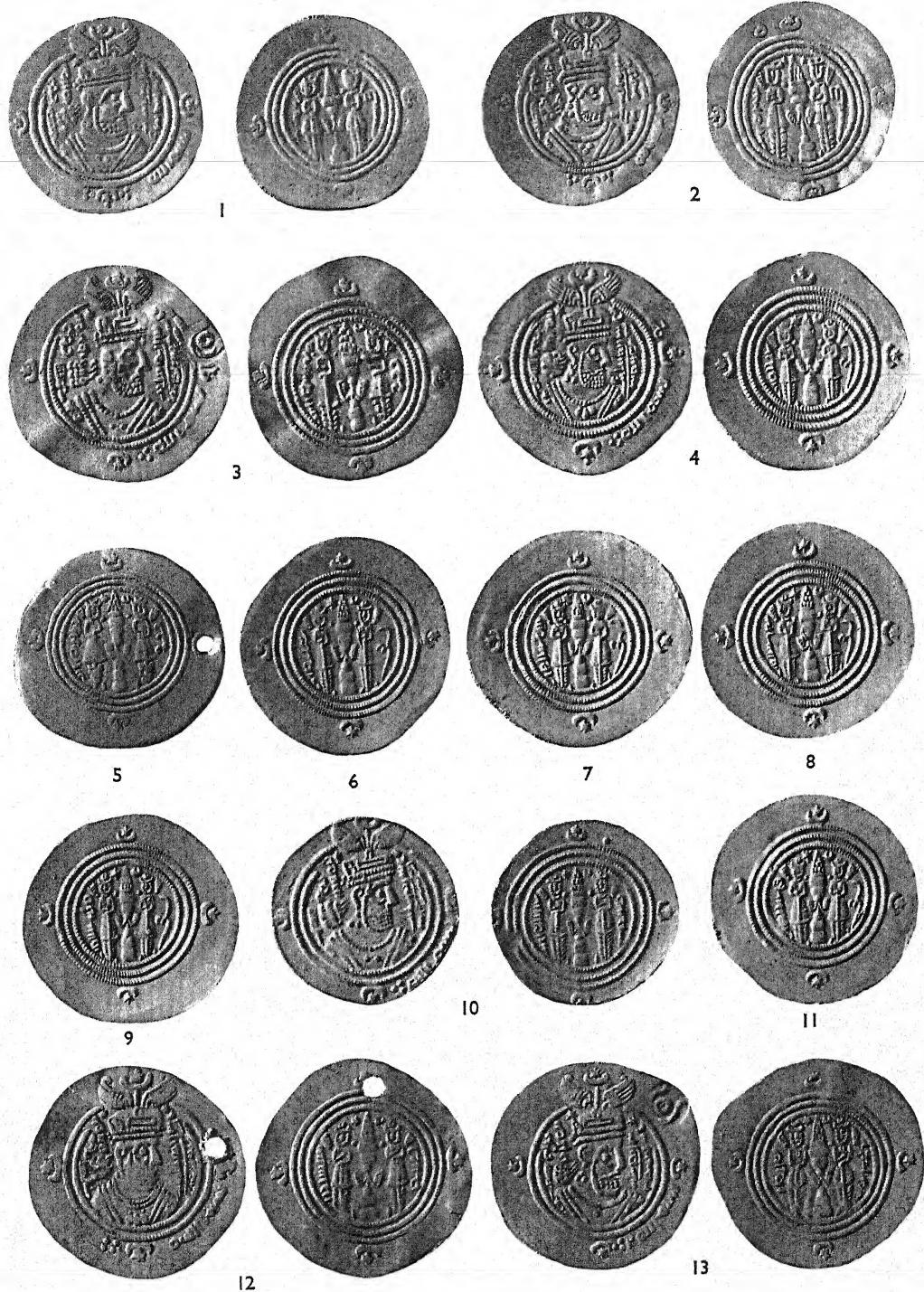
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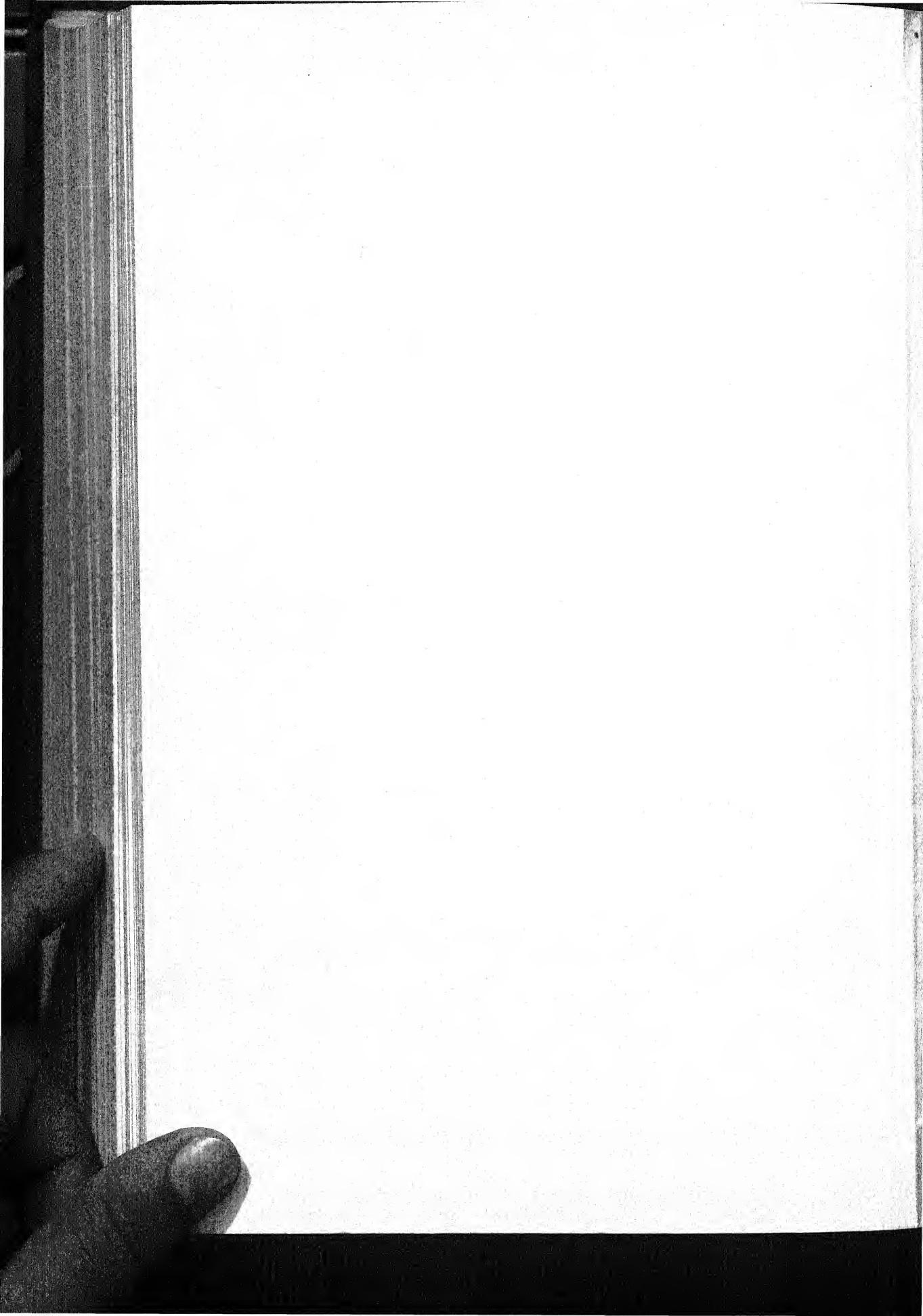


'UBAIDALLĀH IBN ZIYĀD





'UBAIDALLĀH IBN ZIYĀD





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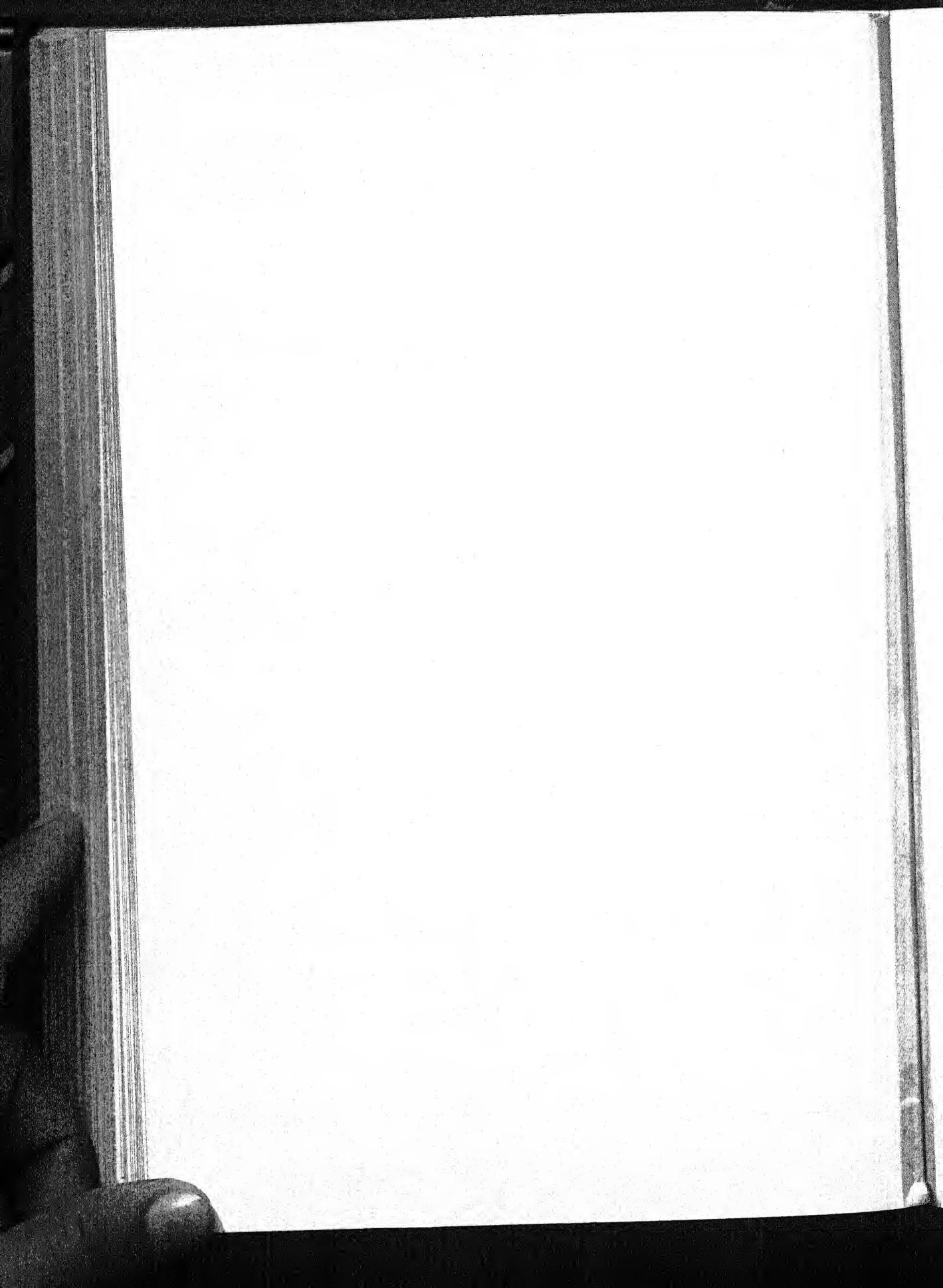


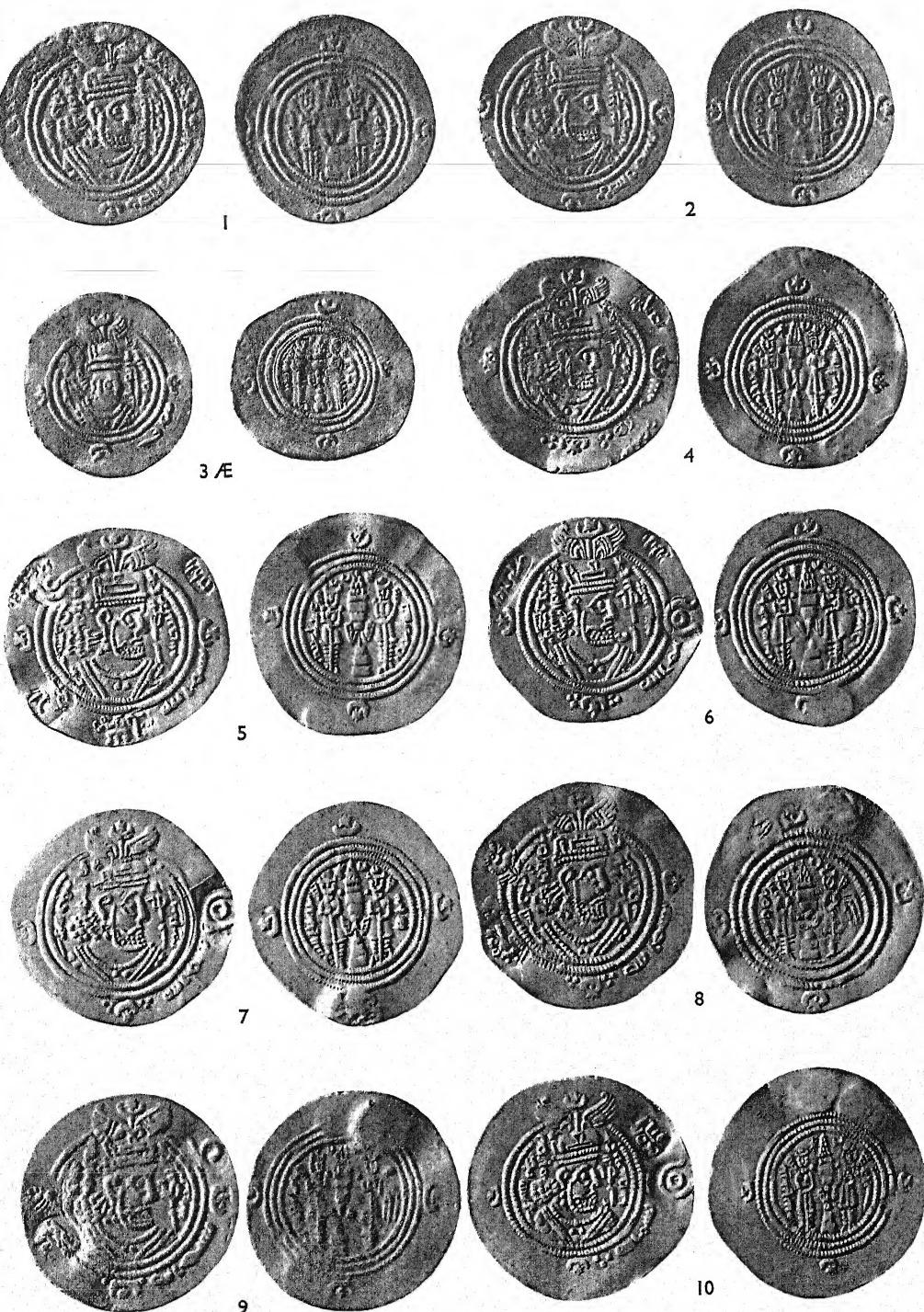
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11

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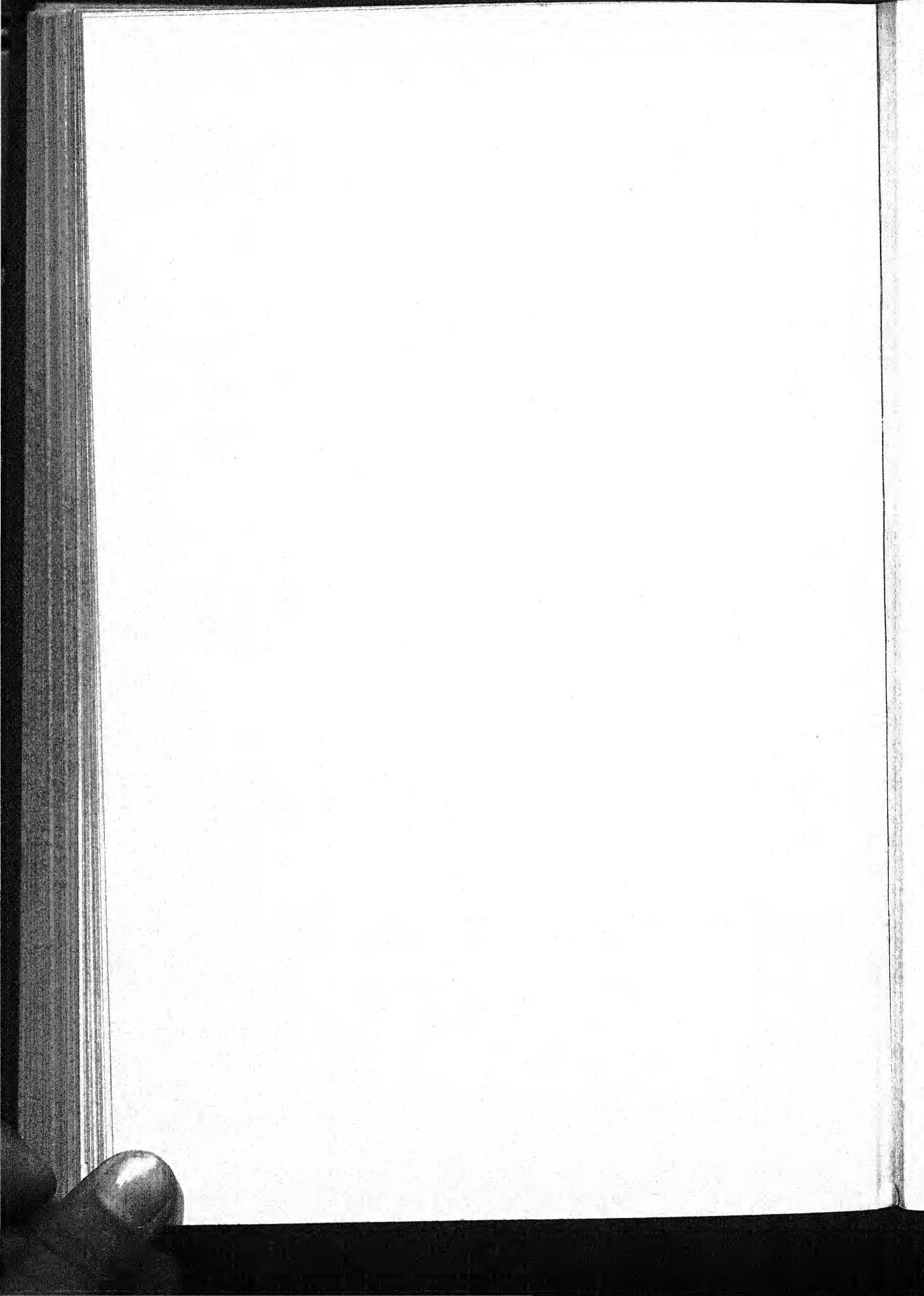
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SALM IBN ZIYĀD





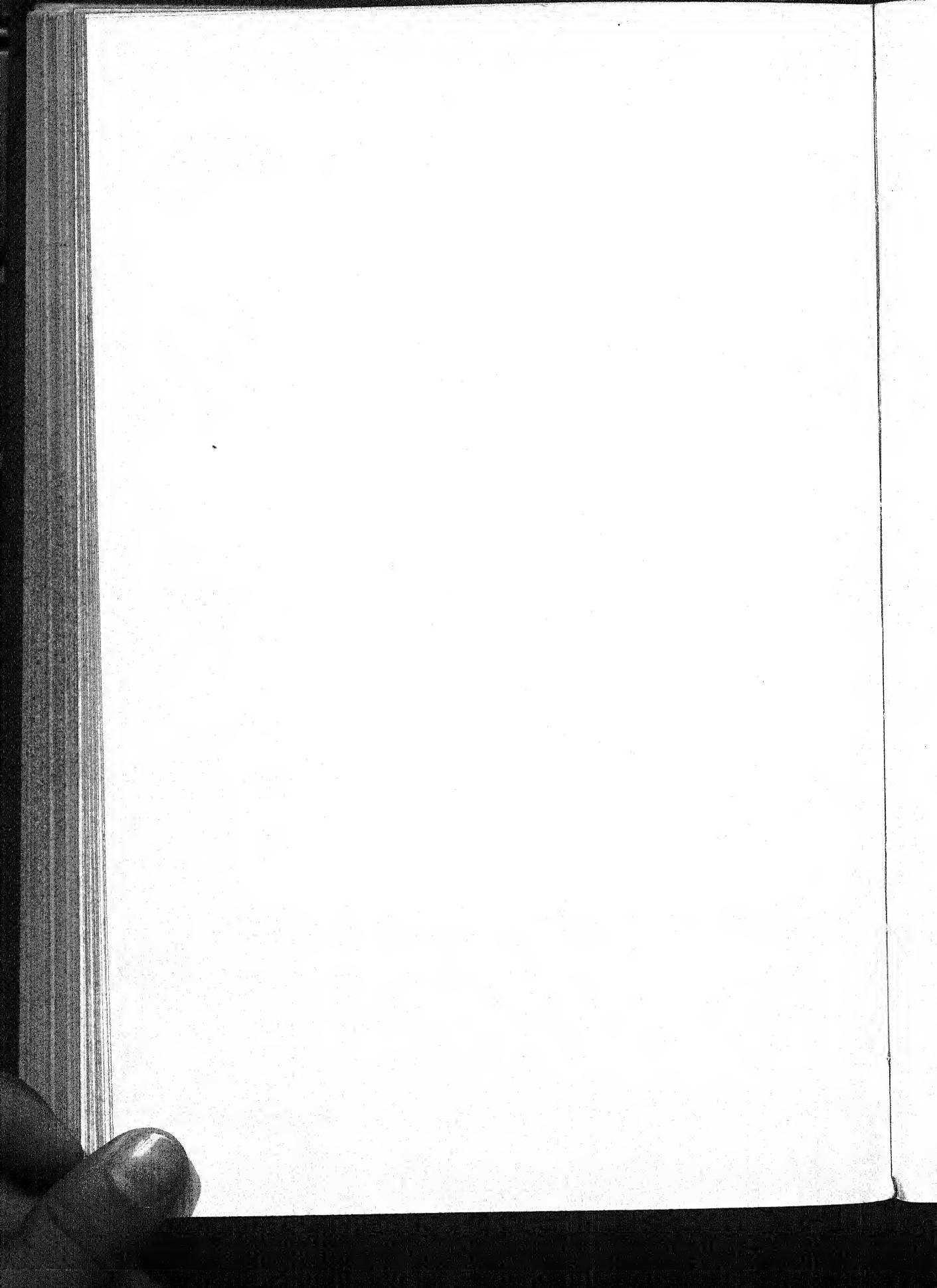
SALM IBN ZIYĀD





SALM IBN ZIYĀD

'ABD AL-RAHMĀN IBN ZIYĀD

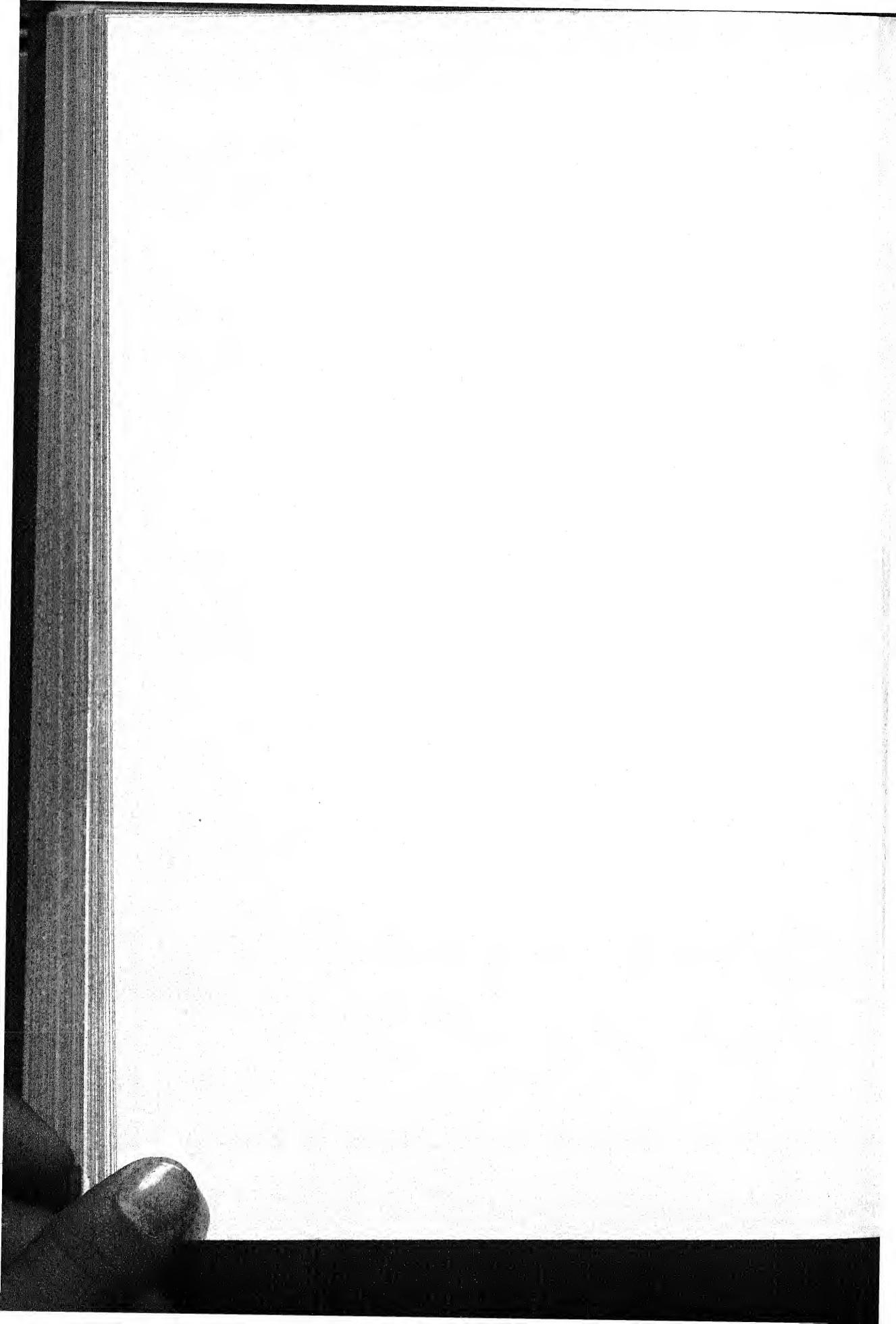


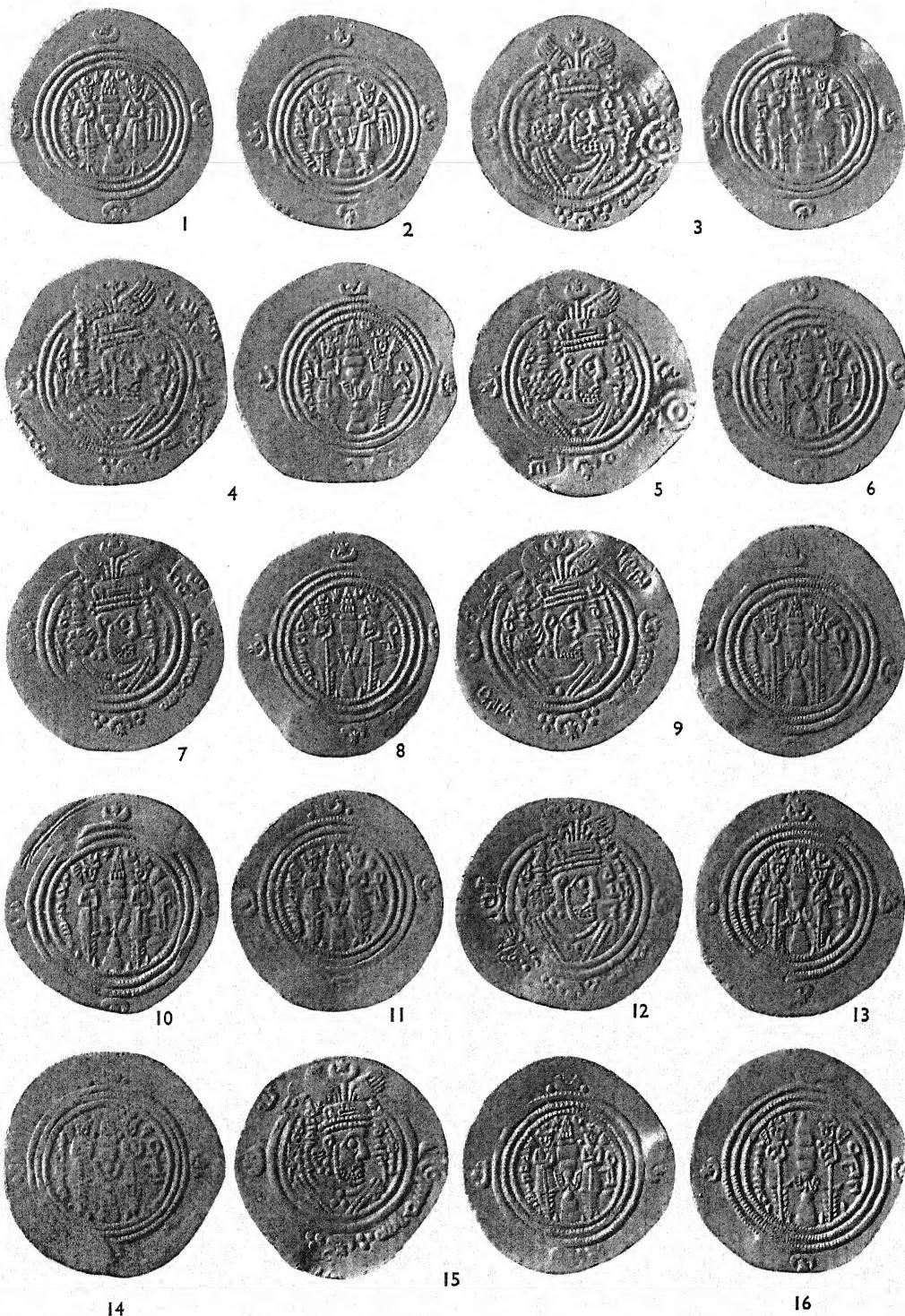


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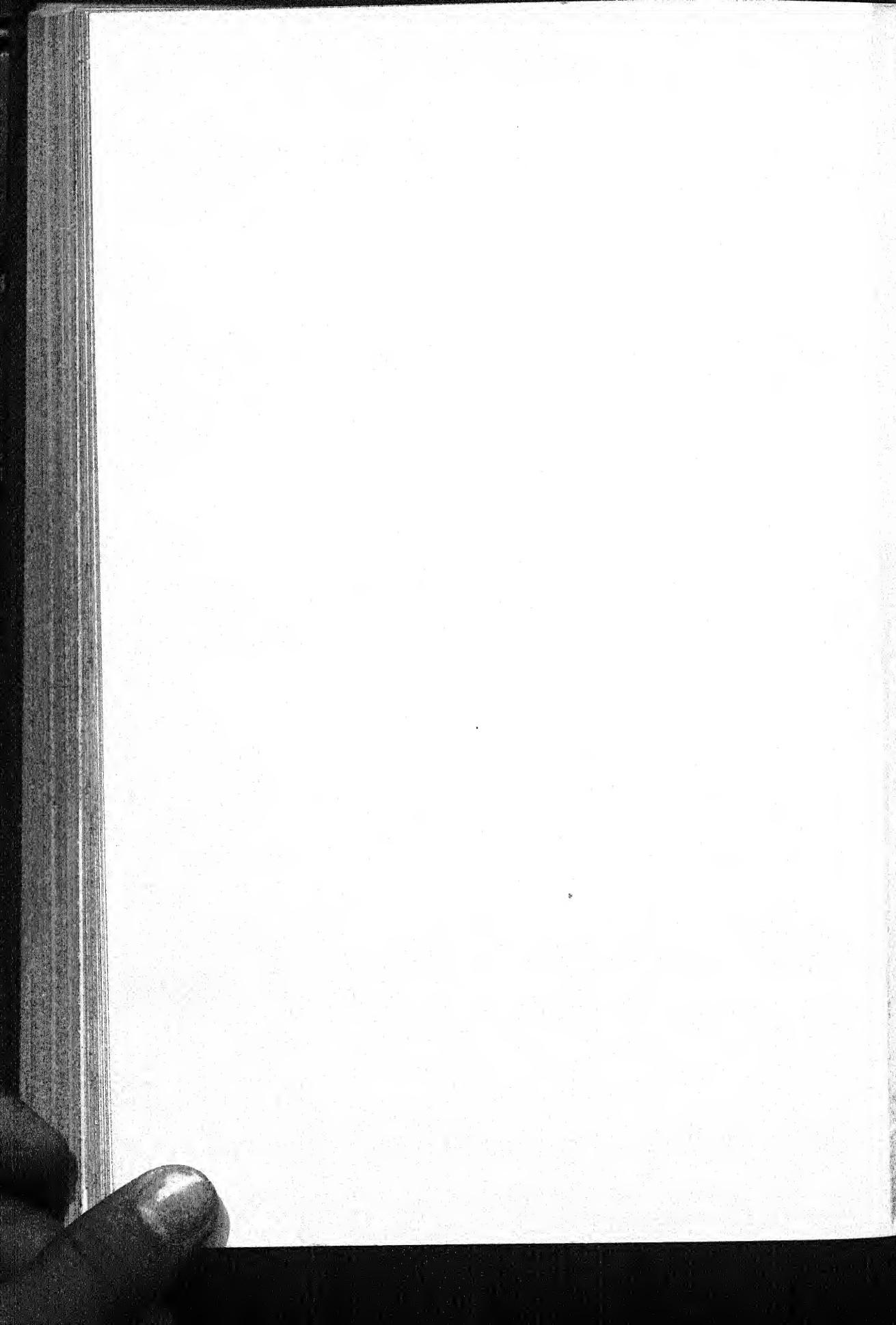
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AL-HAKAM IBN ABI'L-'ĀŞ





'ABDALLĀH IBN KHĀZIM





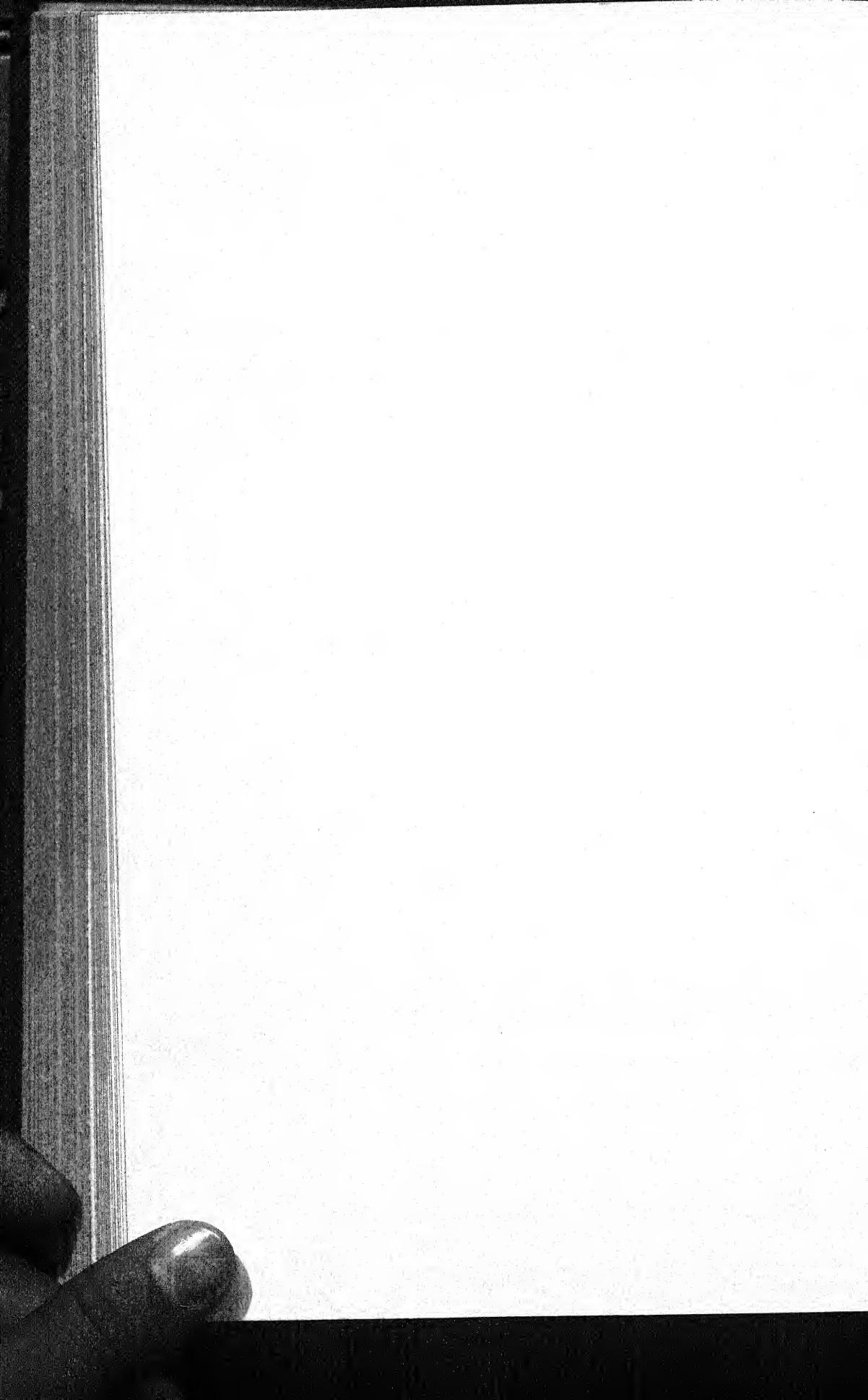
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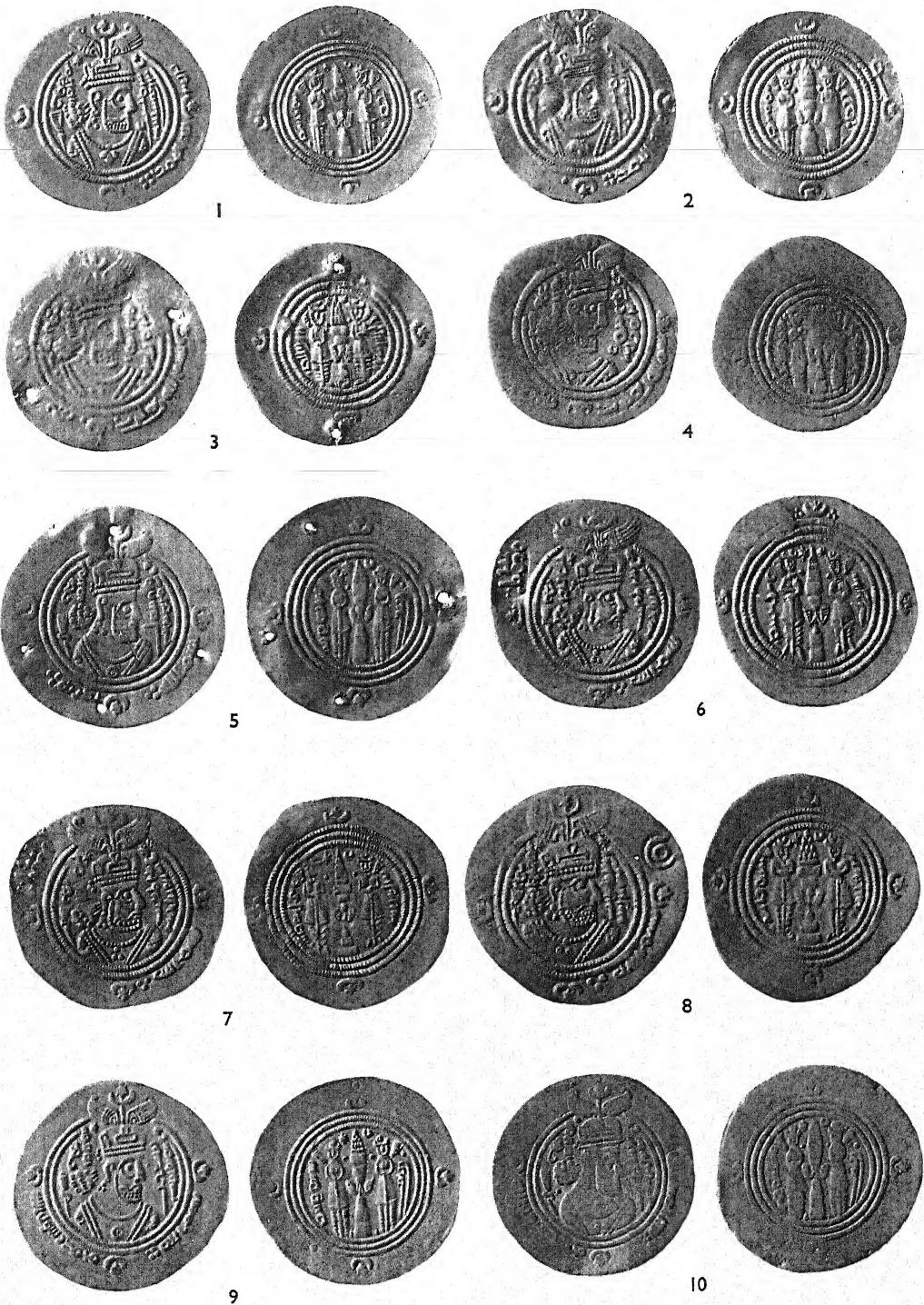
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12

'ABDALLĀH IBN KHĀZIM  
'ABD AL-'AZĪZ IBN 'ABDALLĀH IBN 'ĀMIR

TALHA IBN 'ABDALLĀH  
'UMAR IBN 'UBAIDALLĀH





'UMAR IBN 'UBAIDALLĀH  
MUḲĀTIL IBN MISMA'  
KHĀLID IBN 'ABDALLĀH

MUŞ'AB IBN AL-ZUBAIR  
UMAIYA IBN 'ABDALLĀH





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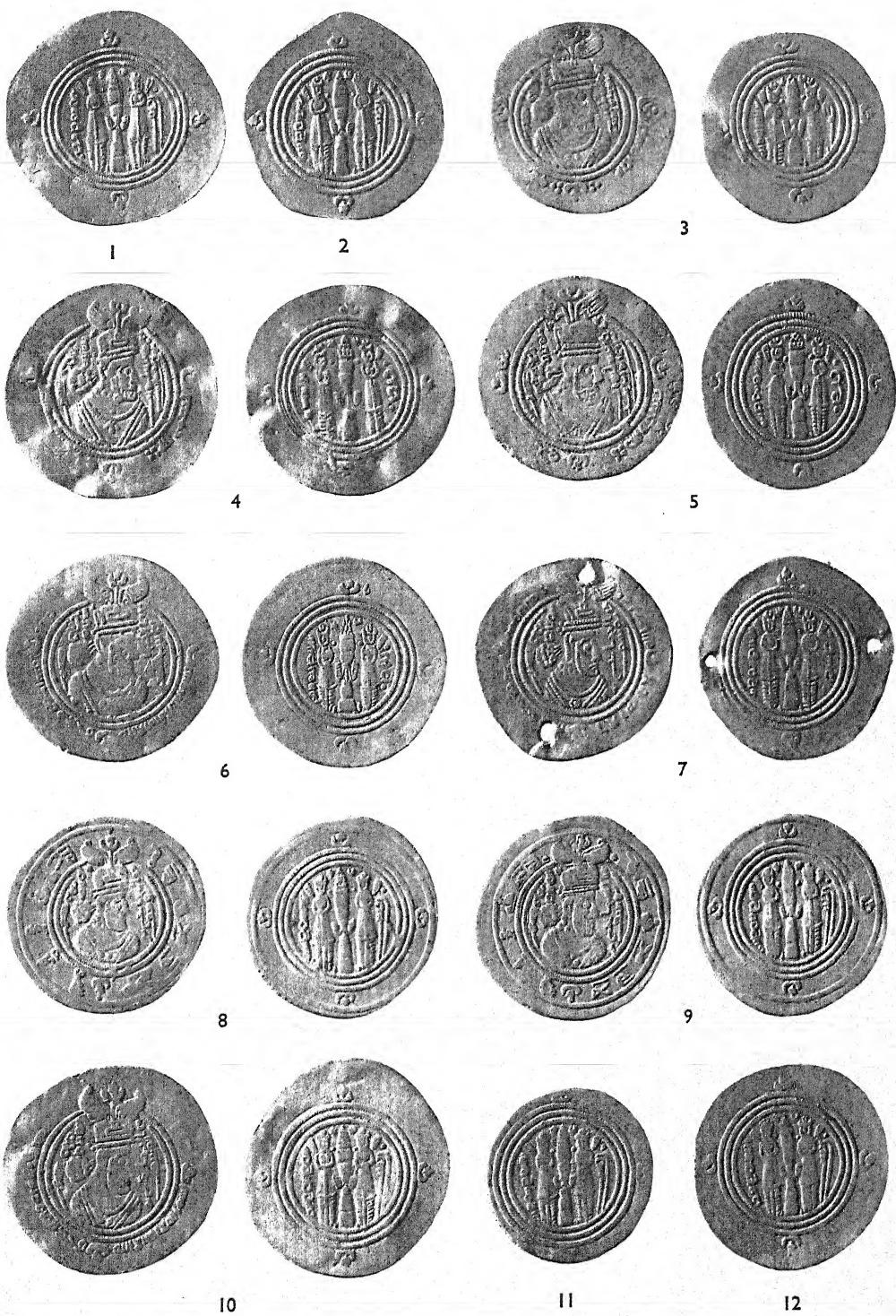


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BISHR IBN MARWĀN  
 'ATĪYA IBN AL-ASWAD  
 AL-MUHALLAB IBN ABĪ ŠUFRA

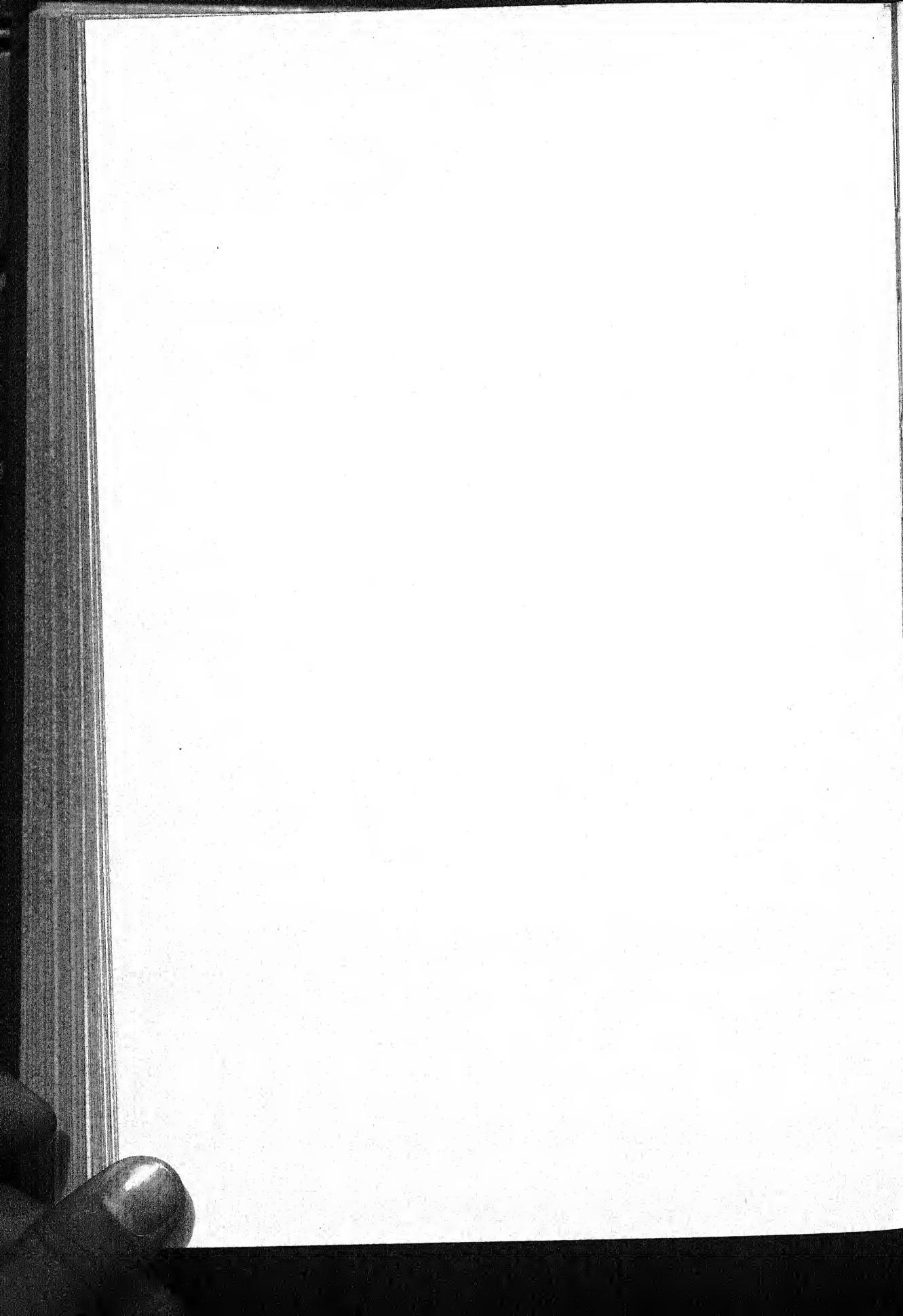
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 KATĀRĪ IBN AL-FUJĀ'A





AL-MUHALLAB IBN ABĪ ŠUFRA

AL-HAJJĀJ IBN YŪSUF



ARAB-SASSANIAN

PLATE XXII



ARAB-EPTHALITE



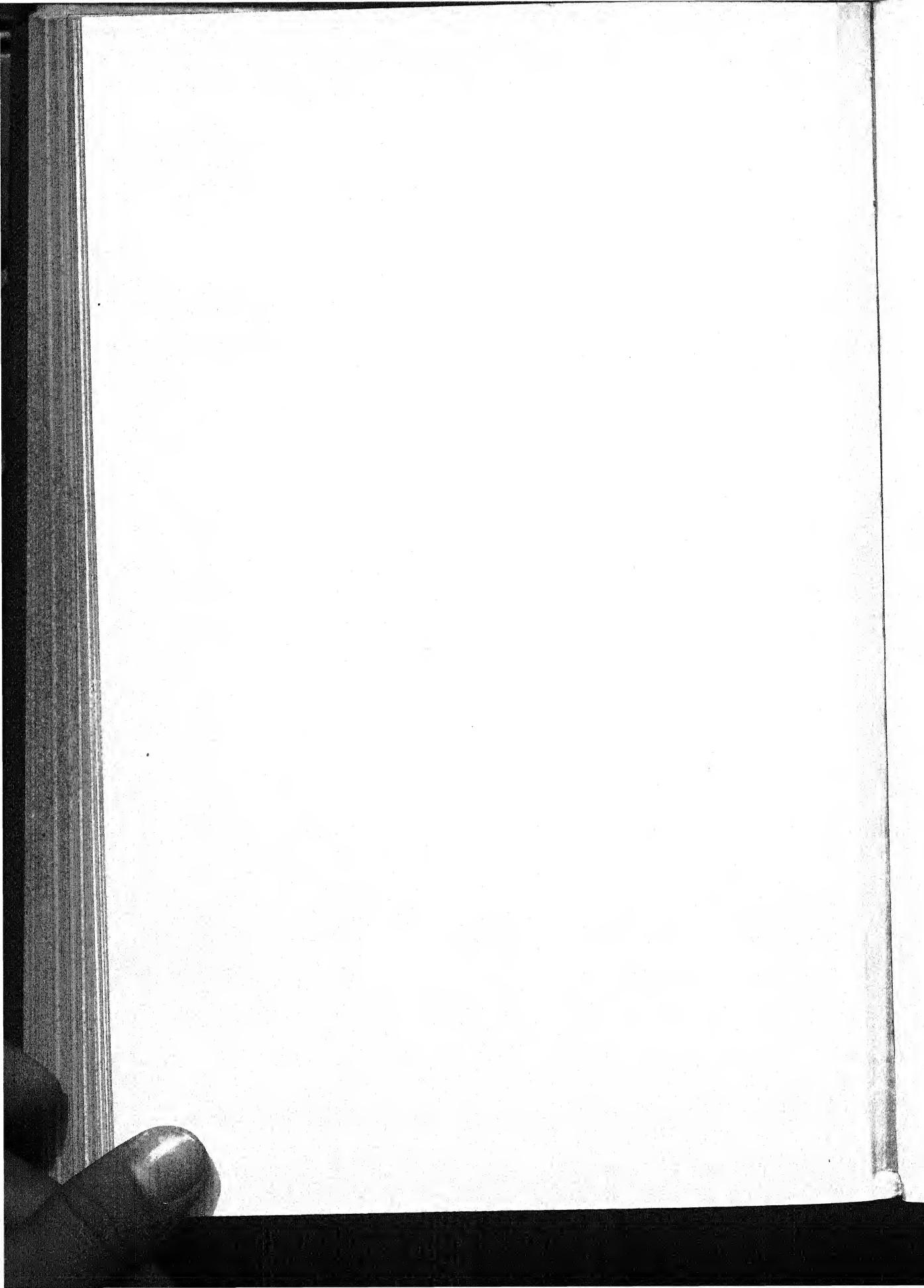
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9

10

AL-HAJJĀJ IBN YŪSUF

UNCERTAIN GOVERNOR





PROTOTYPE COINAGE OF THE ISPAHBADS OF TABARISTĀN



1

2

3

4

5

POSTHUMOUS COINAGE OF KHURSHID UNDER THE ARABS



6

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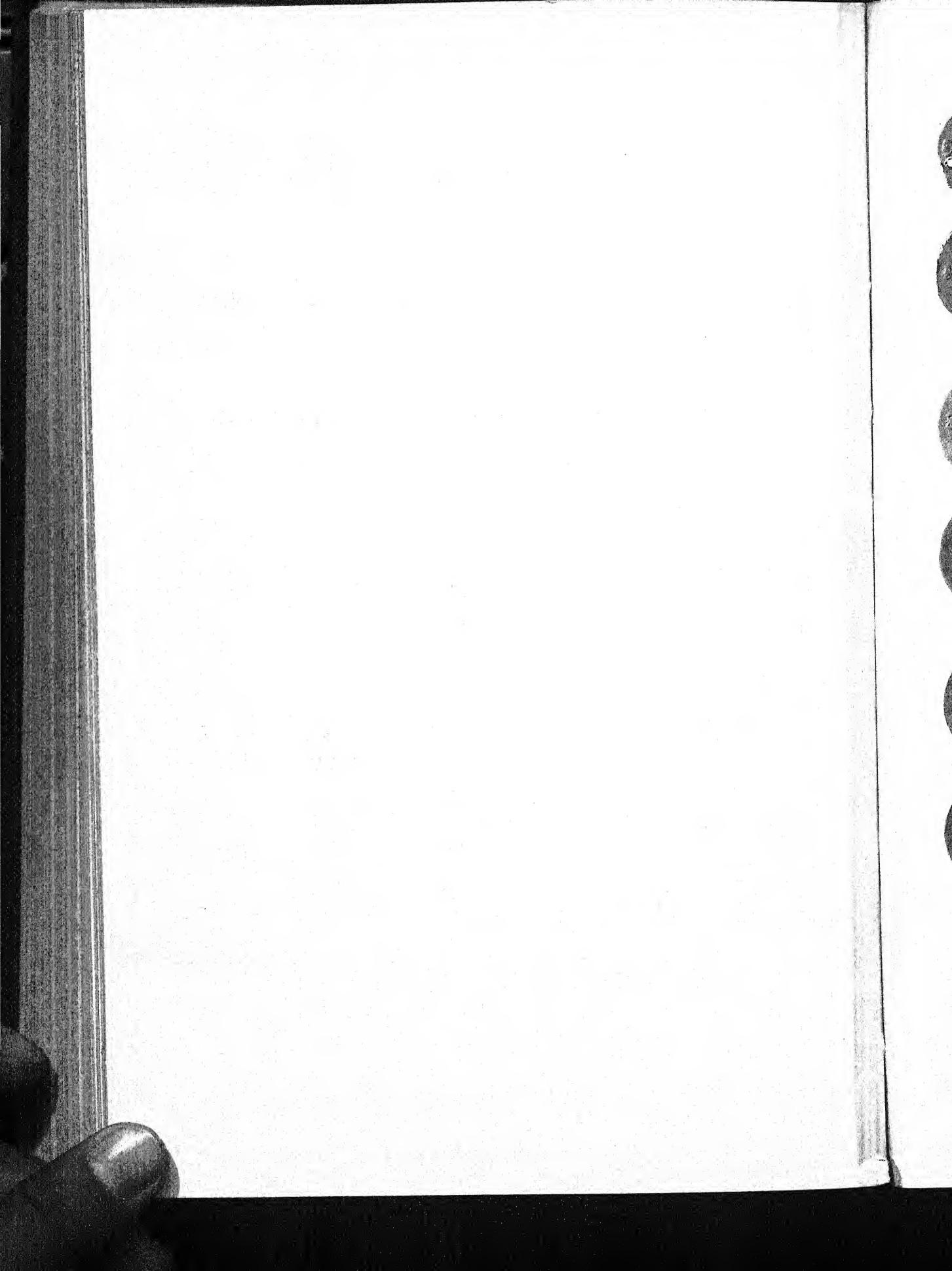
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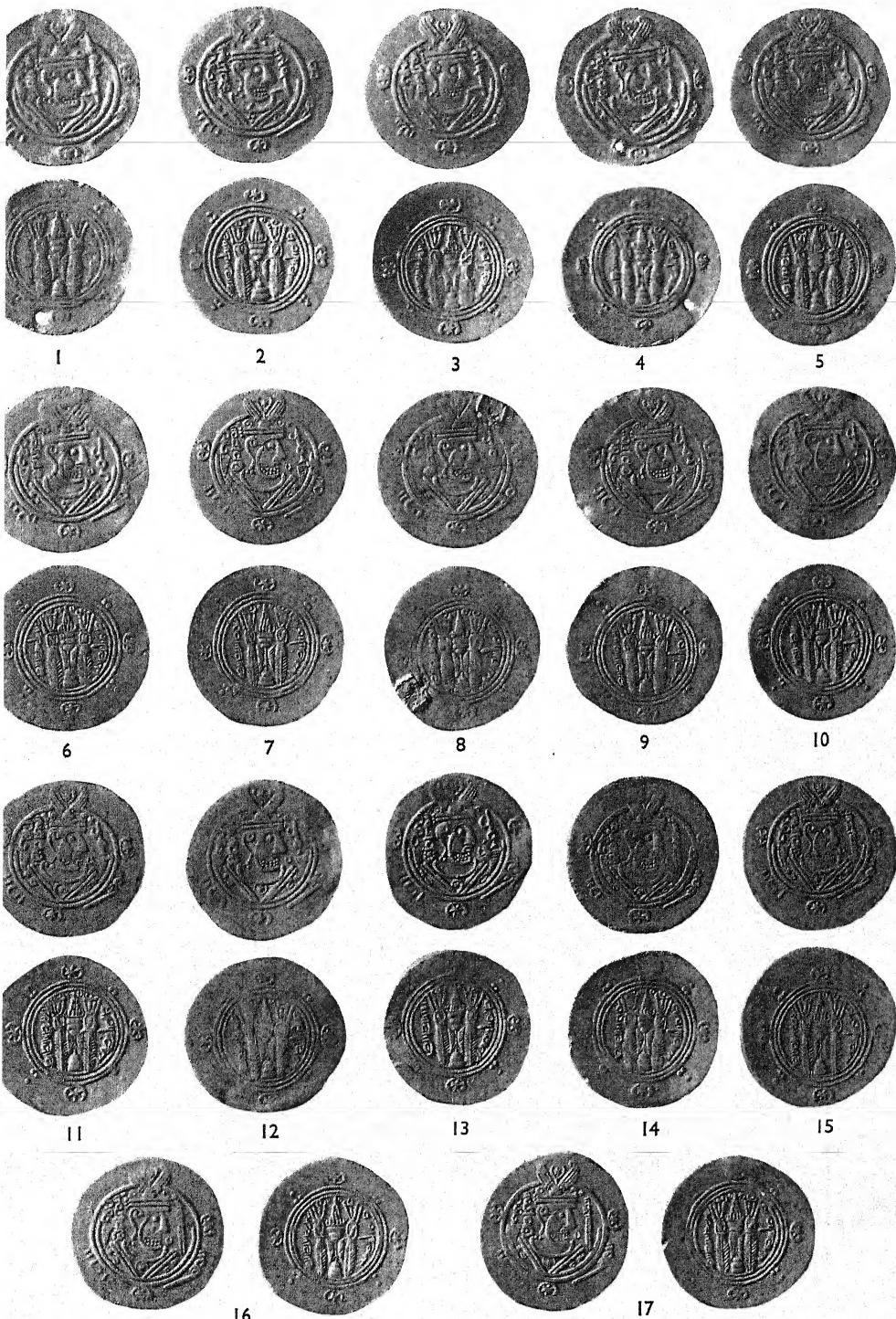
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10

KHĀLID IBN BARMAK

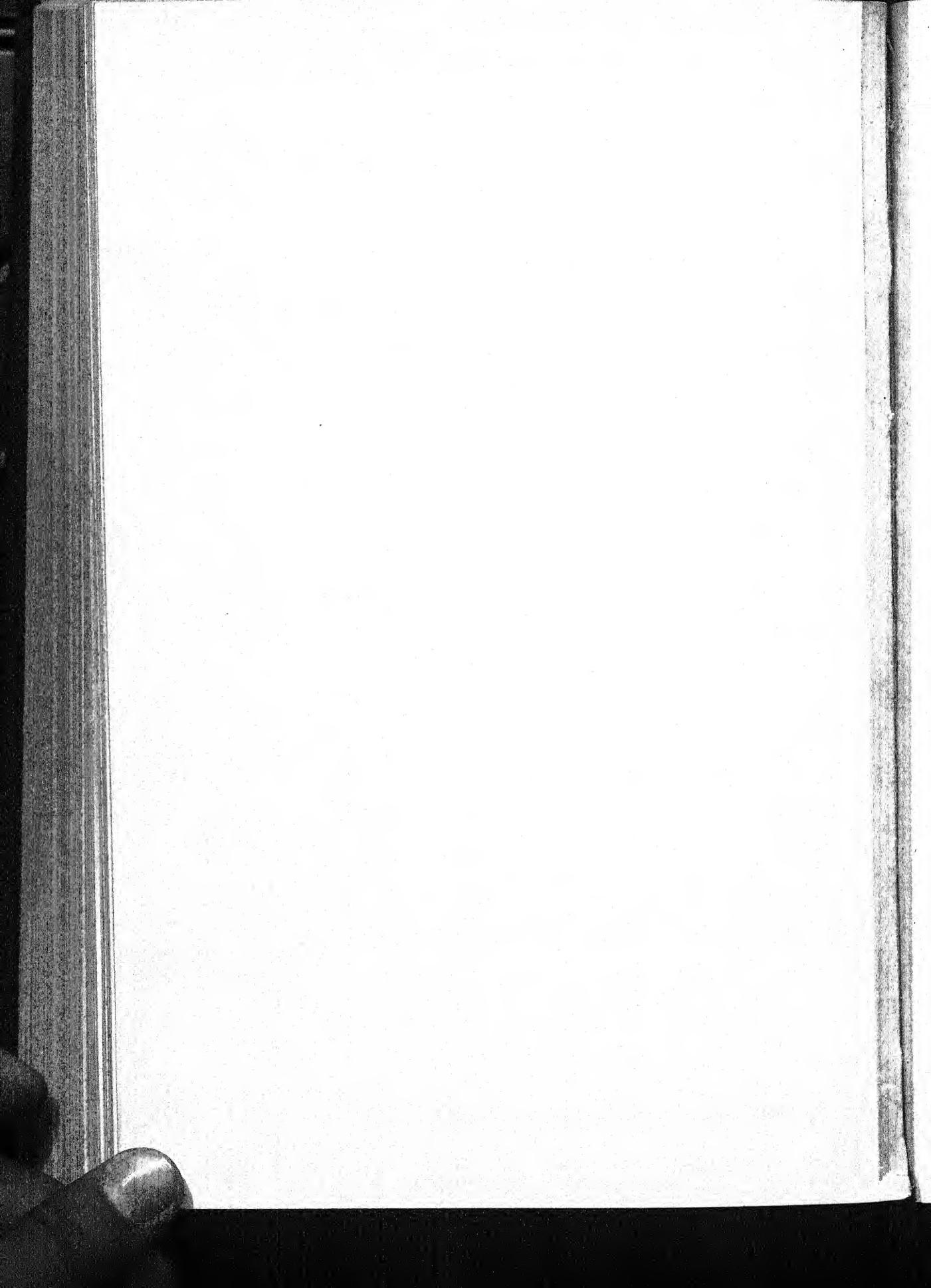
'UMAR IBN AL-'ALĀ





'UMAR IBN AL-'ALĀ

SA'ĪD IBN DA'LĀJ





SA'ID IBN DA'LĀJ  
SULAIMĀN  
MUКАTIL

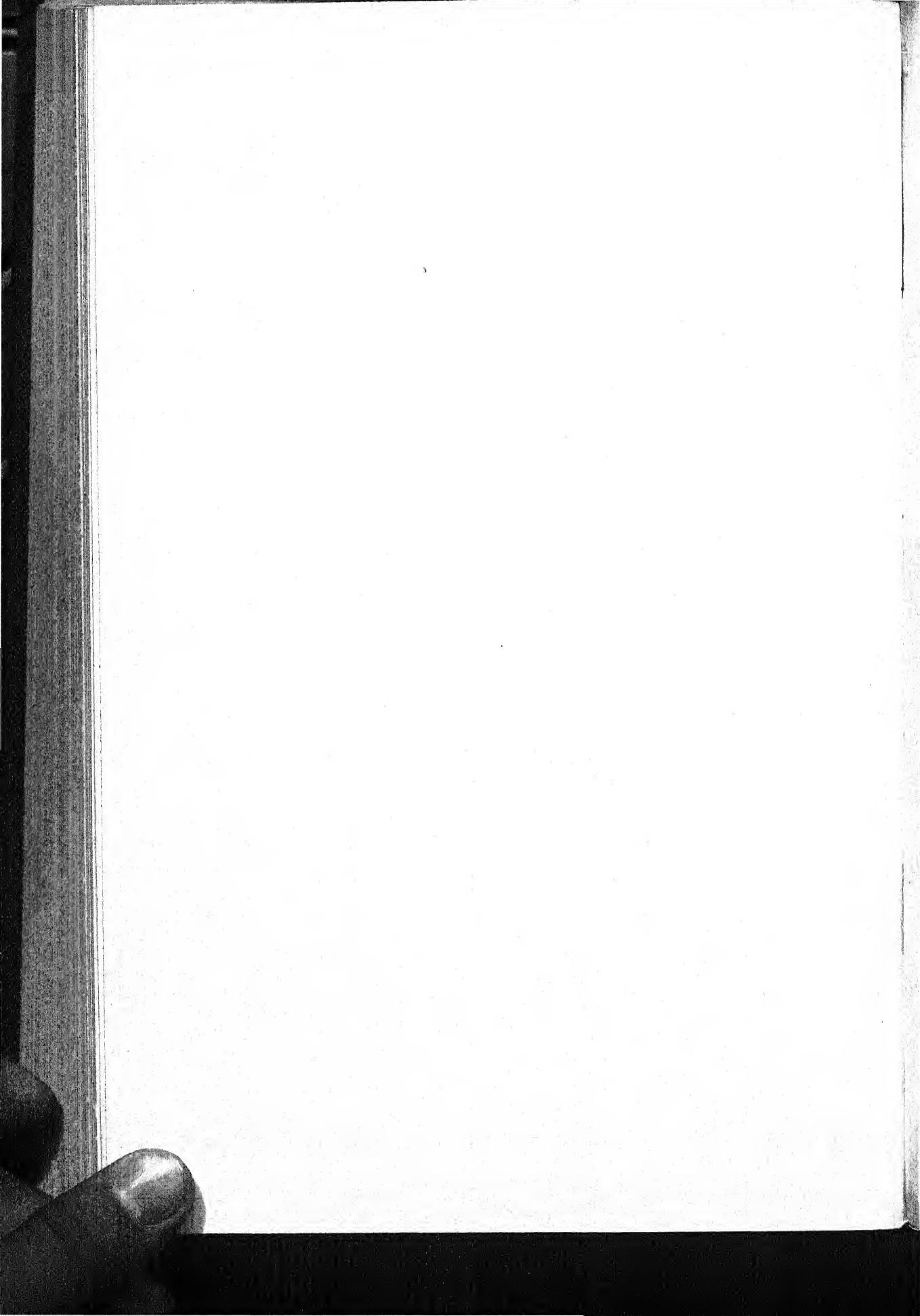
JARIR

YAHYĀ

MA'ADD

HARASHĪ  
HĀNĪ

17



'ABBĀSID GOVERNORS OF TABARISTĀN

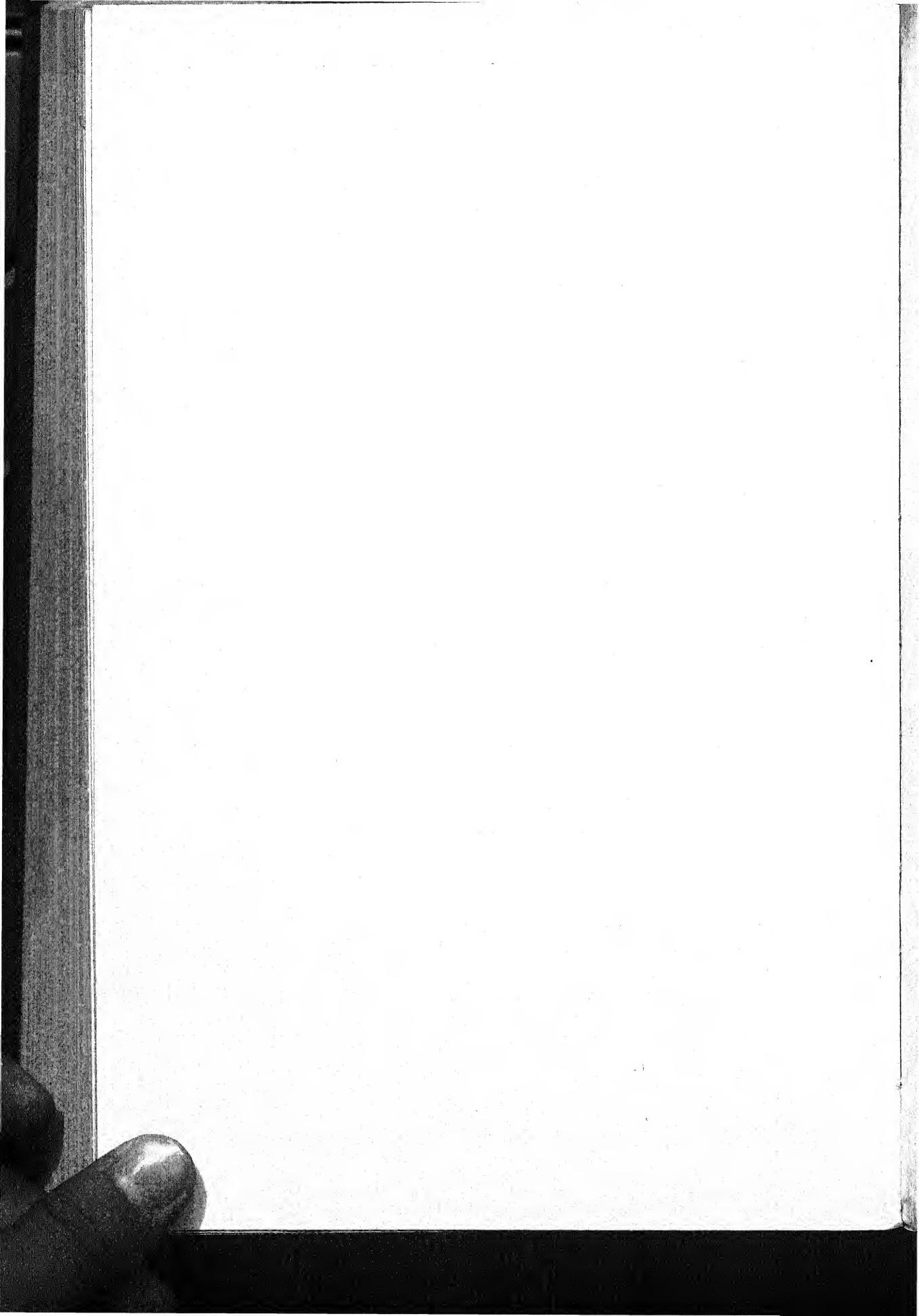
PLATE XXVI



MUKĀTIL  
AFZŪT COINS

'ABDALLĀH

IBRĀHĪM



'ABBĀSID GOVERNORS OF TABARISTĀN

PLATE XXVII



AFZŪT COINS





(a) SASSANIAN PROTOTYPE OF BAHRĀM V



b1

b2



b3

b4



b5

b6

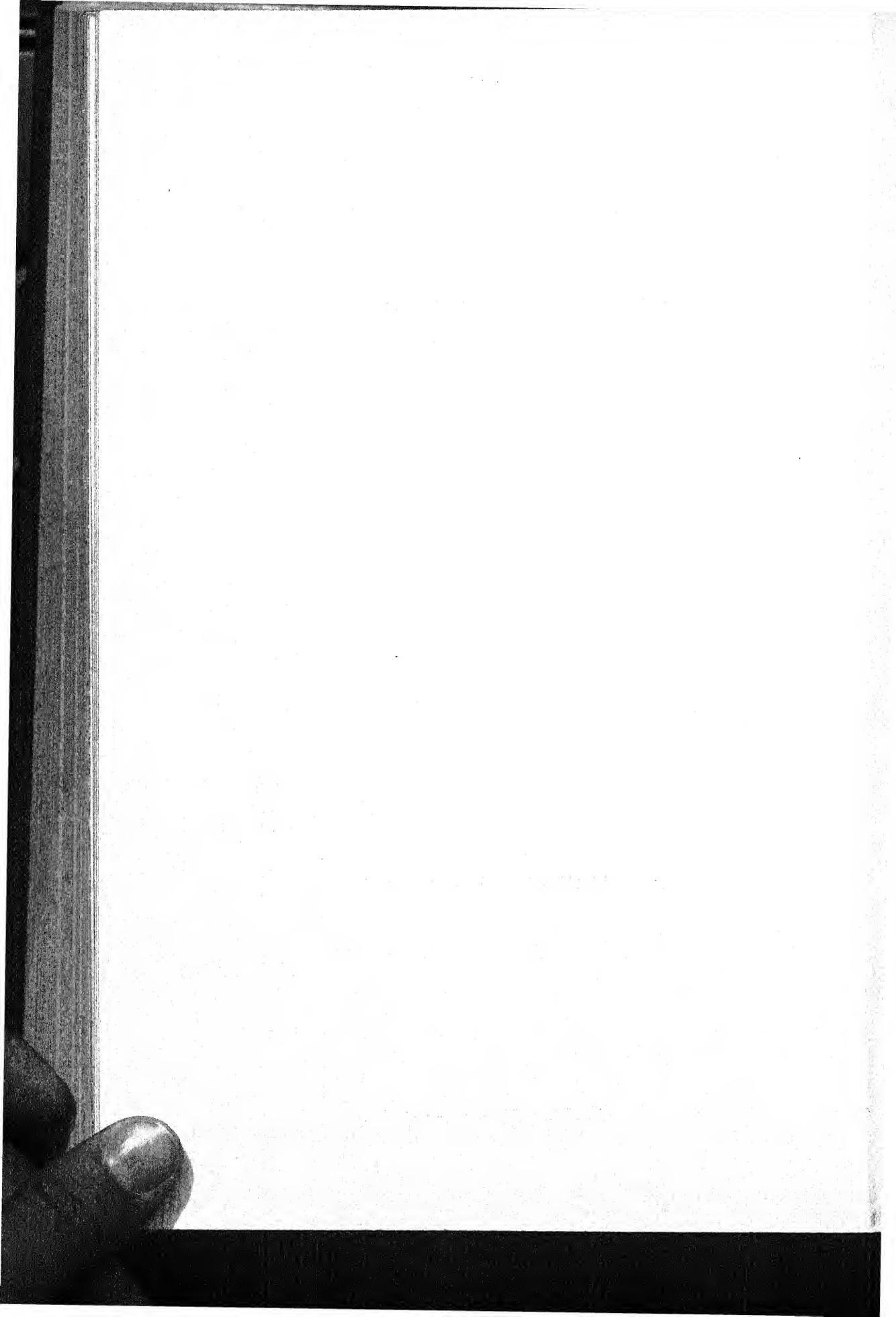
(b) INTERMEDIATE BUKHĀRAN IMITATIONS



I

2

EVOLUTION OF BUKHĀRAN TYPE





1



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12



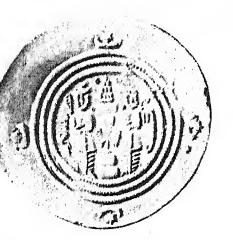
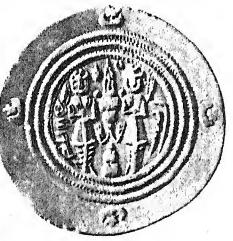
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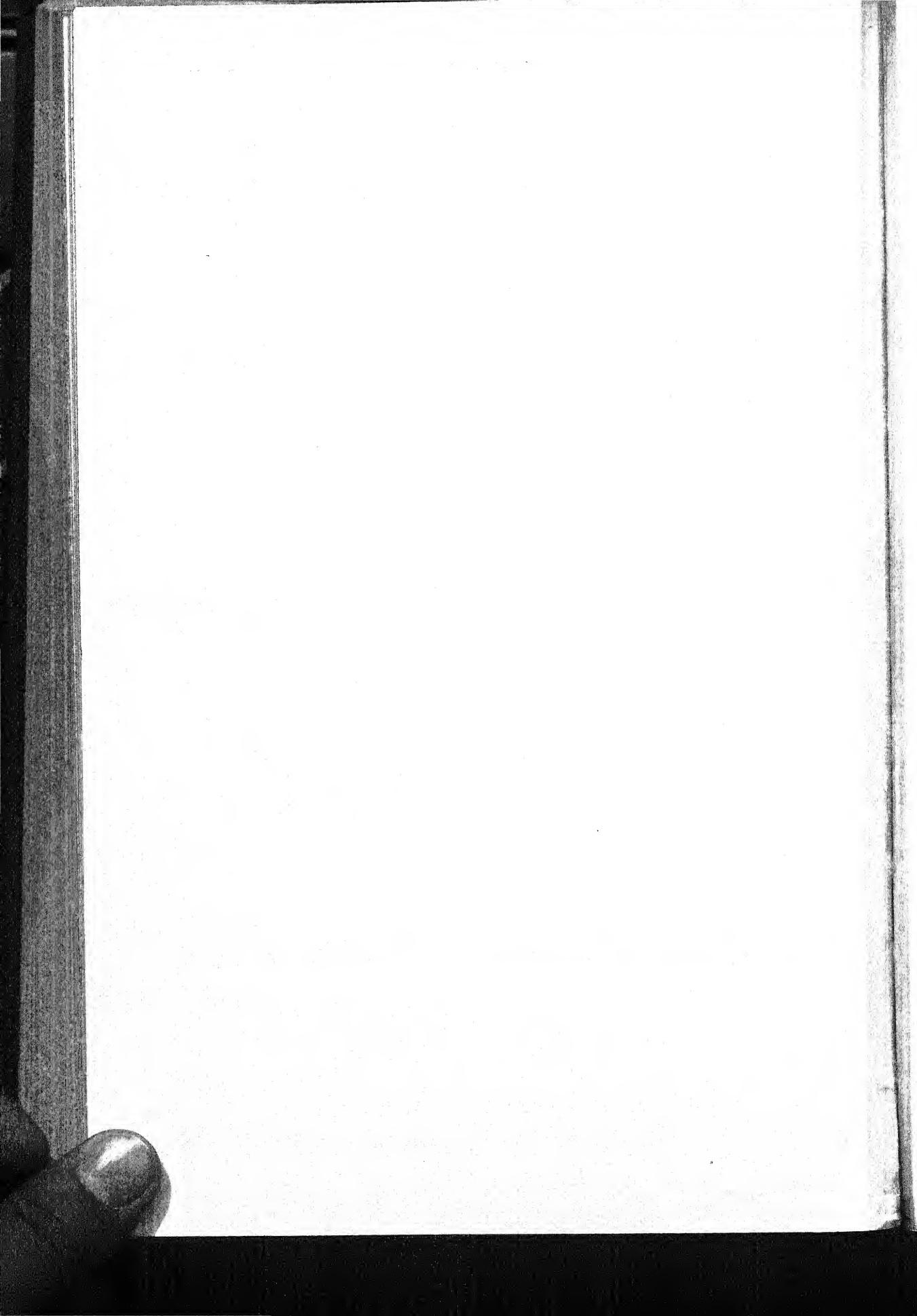
AL-MAHDĪ

HĀRŪN

AL-AMĪN



HORMUZD IV and KHUSRAU II TYPES





KHUSRAU II TYPE  
'ABD AL-MALIK IBN MARWĀN

MU'ĀWIYA  
'ABDALLĀH IBN AL-ZUBAIR





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‘ABDALLĀH IBN AL-ZUBAIR

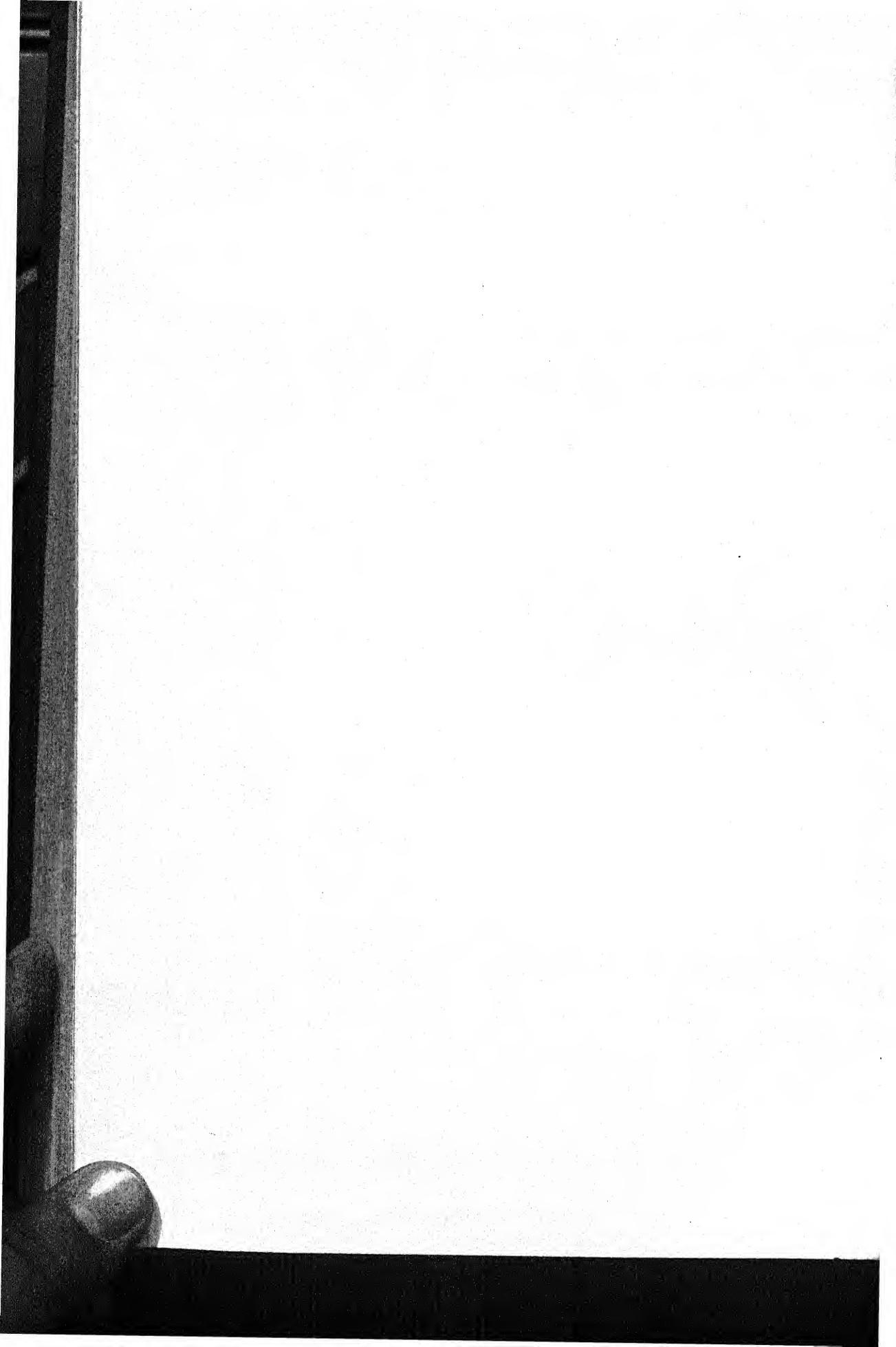
ZIYĀD IBN ABĪ SUFYĀN





ZIYĀD IBN ABĪ SUFYĀN

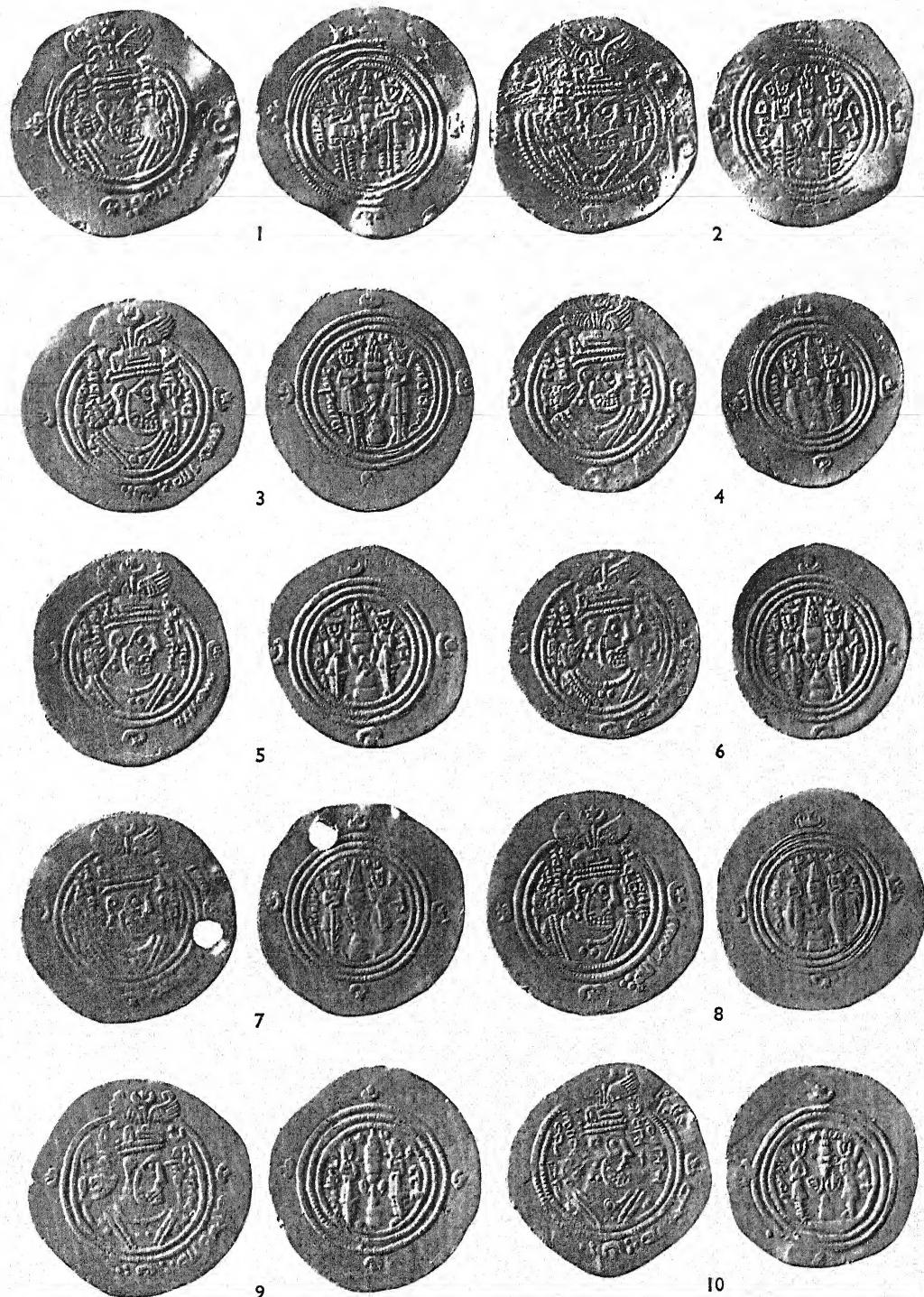
'ABDALLĀH (IBN 'ĀMIR)  
'UBAIDALLĀH IBN ZIYĀD





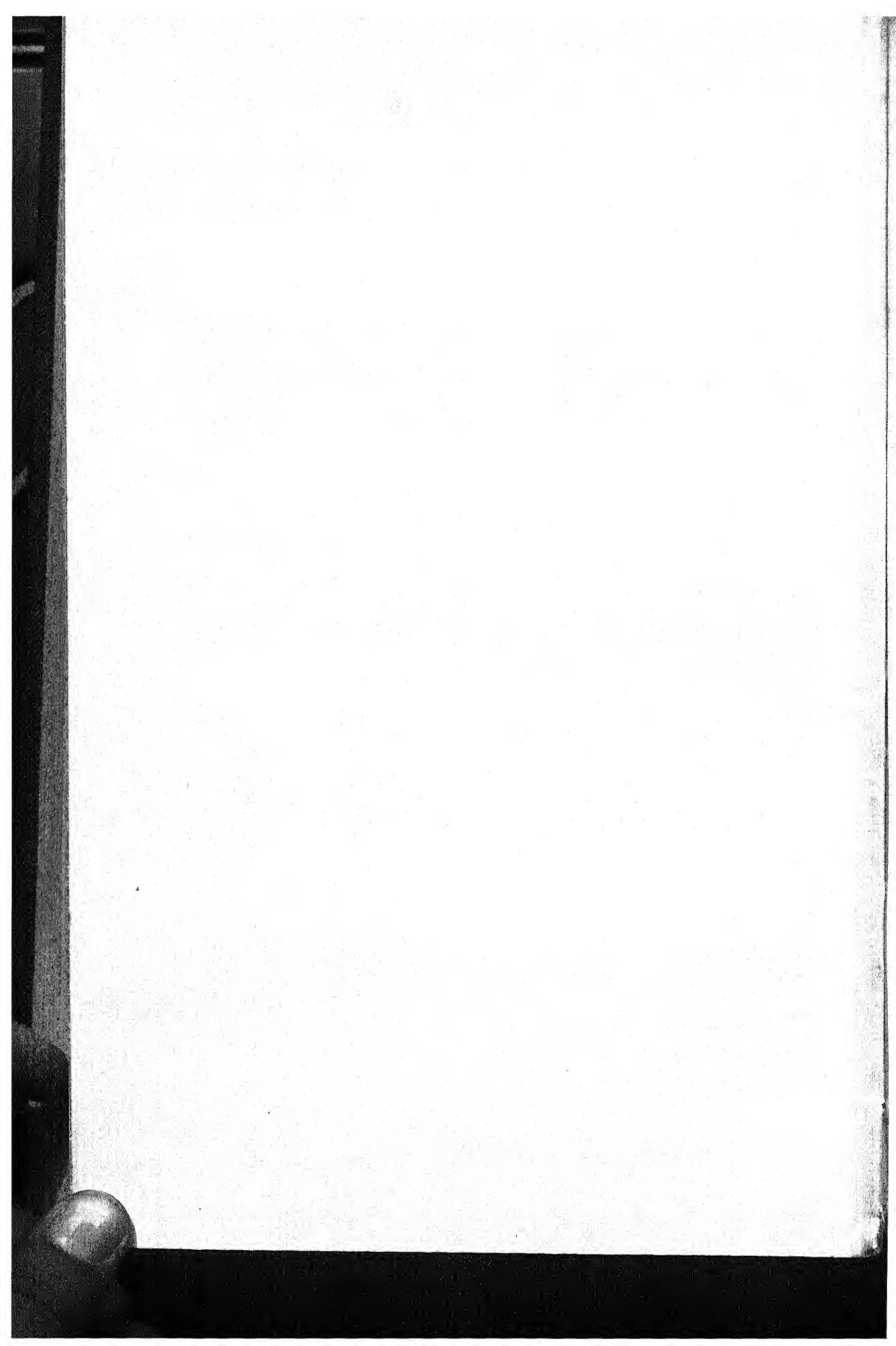
‘UBAIDALLĀH IBN ZIYĀD





SALM IBN ZIYĀD  
AL-HAKAM IBN ABI'L-'ĀS  
ṬALḤA IBN 'ABDALLĀH

'ABD AL-RAHMĀN IBN ZIYĀD  
MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABDALLĀH





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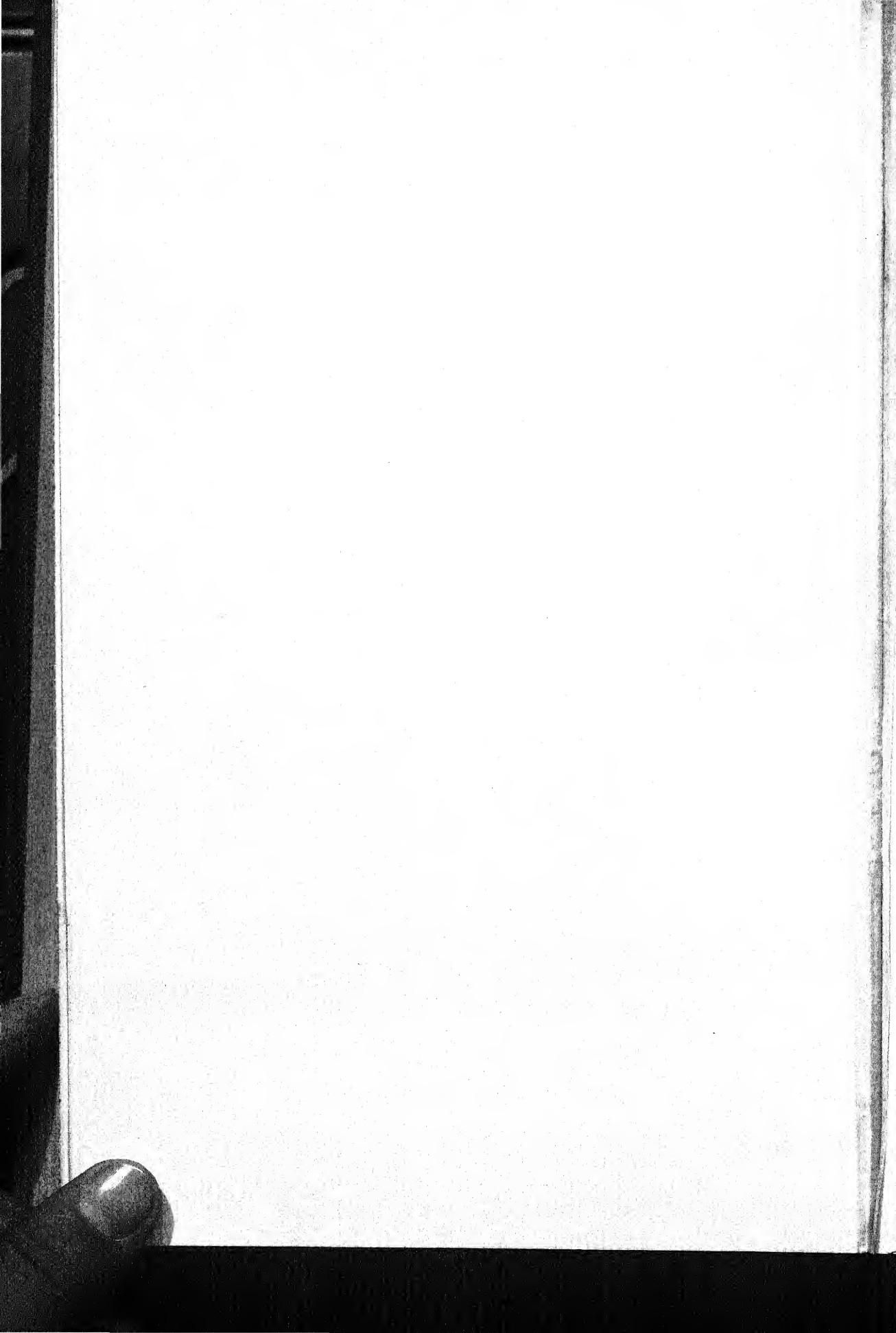


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'ABD AL-'AZİZ IBN 'ABDALLĀH IBN 'ĀMIR  
MUŞ'AB IBN AL-ZUBAIR  
UMAIYA IBN 'ABDALLĀH  
'ATĪYA IBN AL-ASWAD

'UMAR IBN 'UBAIDALLĀH  
AL-MUGHĪRA IBN AL-MUHALLAB  
HŪMRĀN IBN ABĀN



SUPPLEMENTARY

PLATE XXXVII



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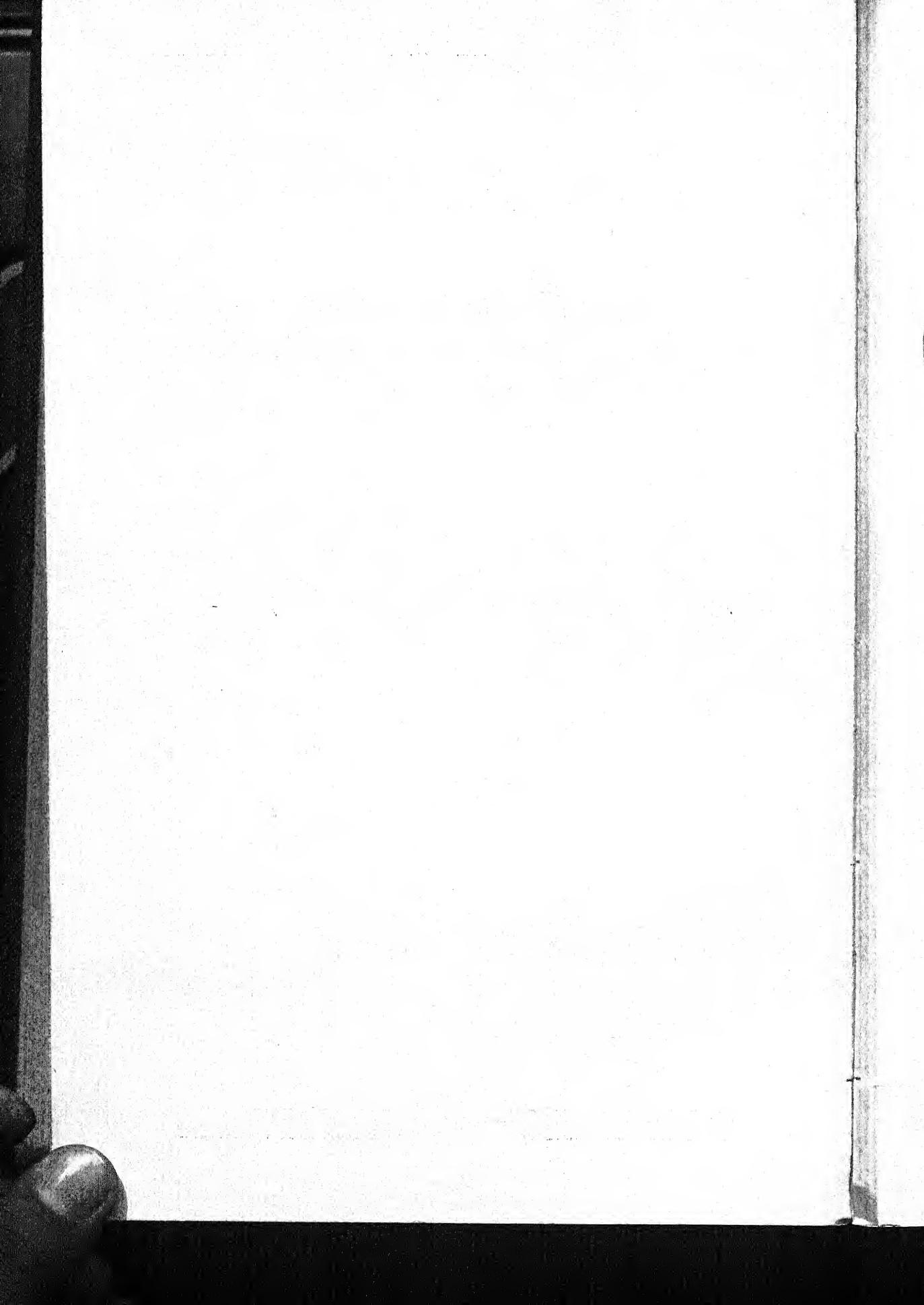
9



10

AL-MUHALLAB IBN ABĪ ŠUFRA  
UNCERTAIN GOVERNORS

AL-HAJJĀJ IBN YŪSUF  
BARBAROUS IMITATIONS

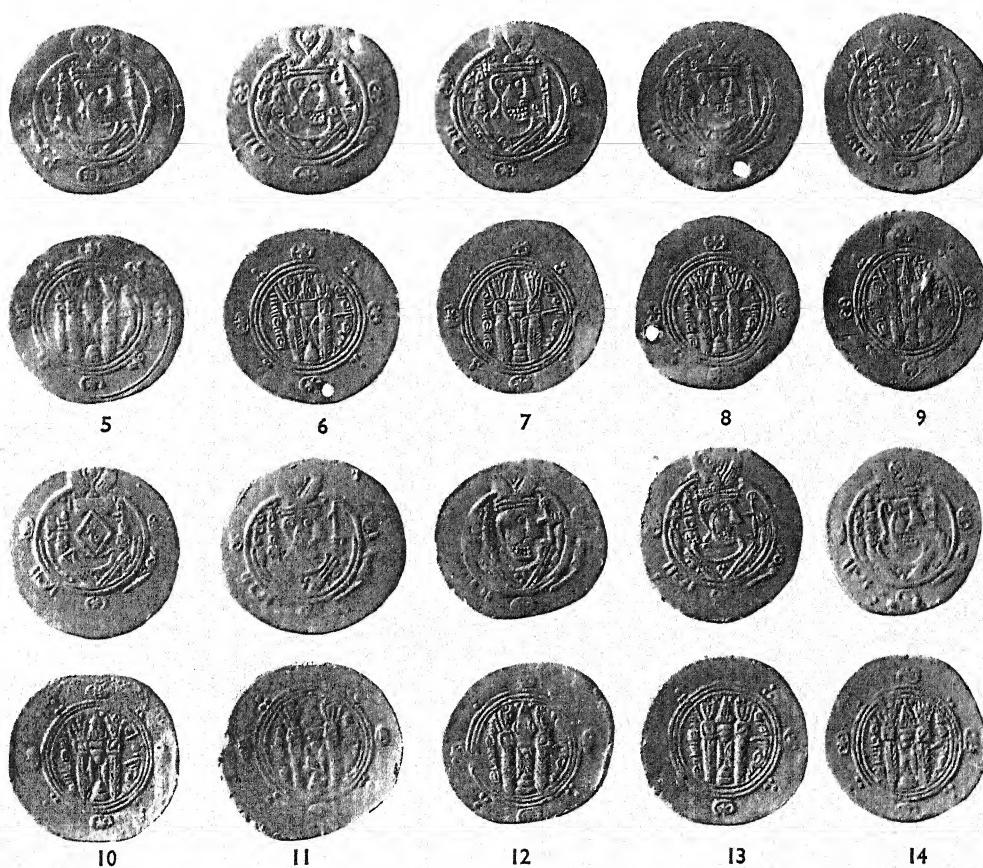


## SUPPLEMENTARY

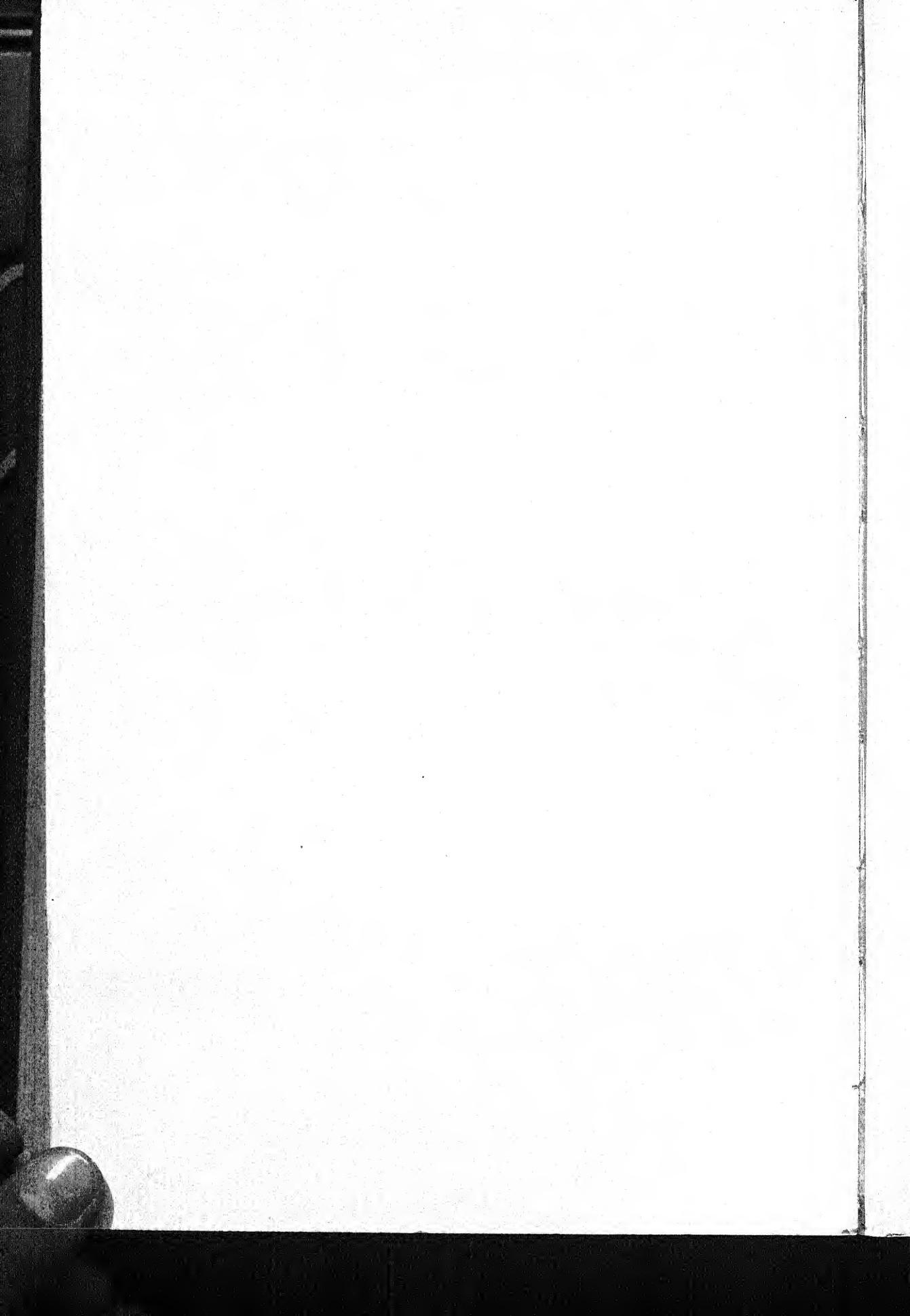
## PLATE XXXVIII



## ARAB-EPTHALITE

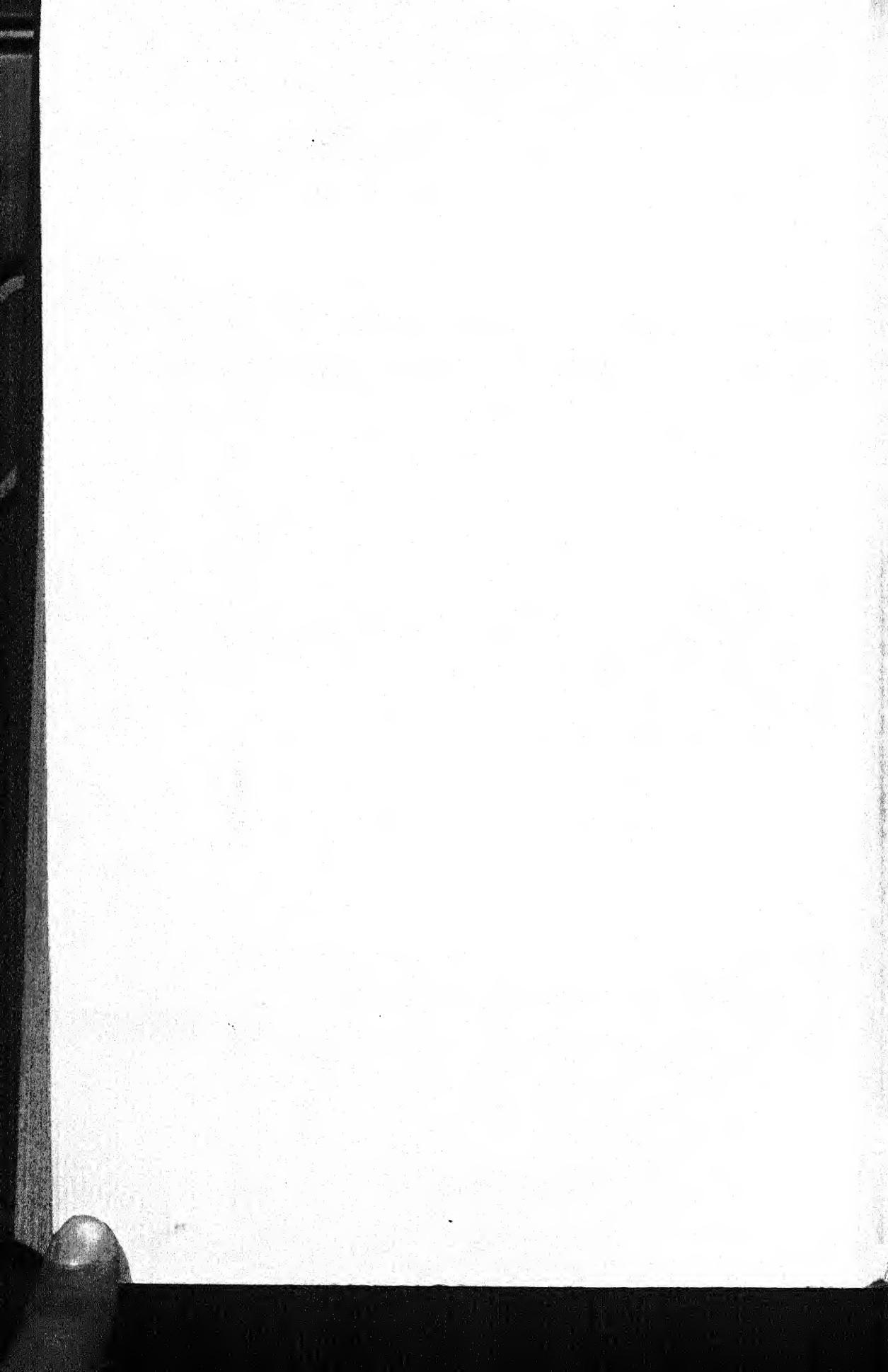


'ABBĀSID GOVERNORS IN TABARISTĀN





'ABBĀSID GOVERNORS IN ṬABARISTĀN





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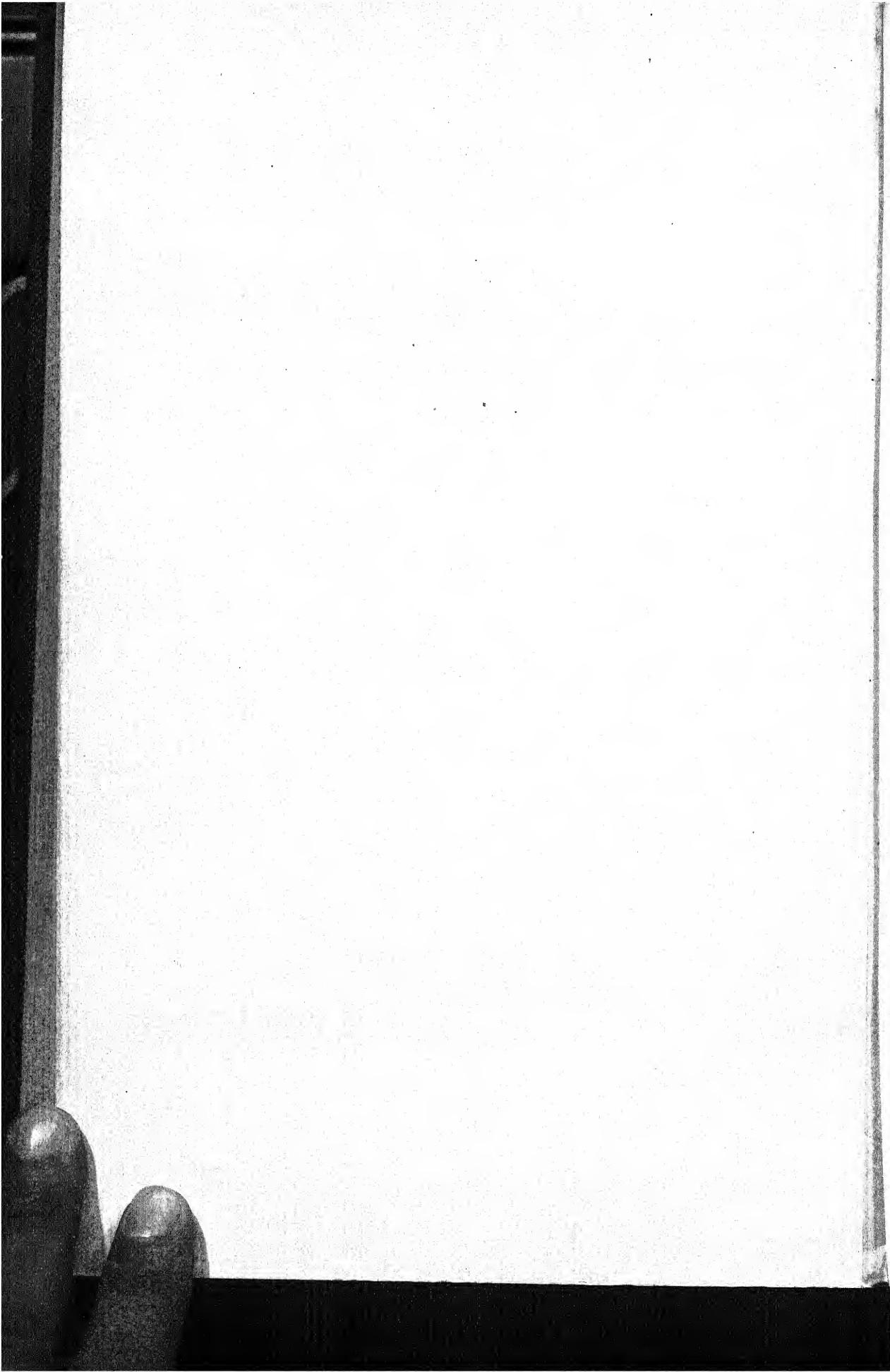


9



ZIYĀD IBN ABĪ SUFYĀN  
 'UBAIDALLĀH IBN ZIYĀD  
 'UBAIDALLĀH IBN ZIYĀD

'UBAIDALLĀH  
 HUMRĀN IBN ABĀN  
 YAHIĀ



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